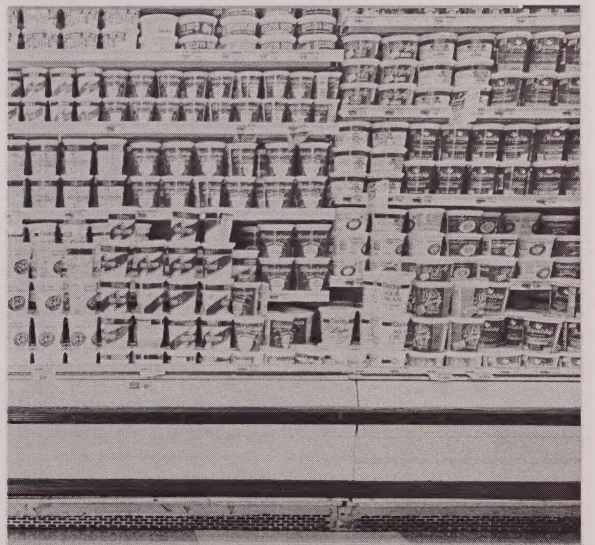


1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036
800-777-4723 www.hrc.org

The Human Rights Campaign is a bipartisan organization that works to advance equality based on sexual orientation and gender expression and identity to ensure that all Americans can be open, honest and safe at home, at work and in the community.

The Human Rights Campaign effectively lobbies Congress, mobilizes grassroots action in diverse communities, invests strategically to elect a fair-minded Congress and increases public understanding through innovative education and communication strategies. The Human Rights Campaign Workplace Project is a one-of-a-kind resource for companies and employees seeking a fair and equitable work environment.

PHOTO: SHANNON FAGAN / GETTY IMAGES

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

UPDATED MARCH 2006

BUYING FOR EQUALITY

A GUIDE TO COMPANIES AND PRODUCTS THAT SUPPORT GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER EQUALITY

MAKE THE BEST CHOICE FOR EQUALITY

Tylenol vs. Bayer

Balance Bar vs. Nutri-Grain

Banana Republic vs. L.L. Bean

Best Buy vs. Circuit City

Shell vs. Exxon Mobil

Iams vs. Alpo

WHY SHOP FOR EQUALITY?

Dear Friend,

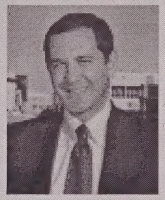
Corporate America is leading the way to fairness and equality for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people in offices and boardrooms around the country. By offering domestic partner benefits and implementing inclusive anti-discrimination policies, workplaces are rapidly becoming a fairer place for all employees.

The Human Rights Campaign Foundation's 2005 Corporate Equality Index (CEI) found that a record 101 companies scored a perfect 100 percent — more than seven times as many since the first CEI was published in 2002. However, it is still legal in most states to fire a gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender employee for no other reason than who they are. Many companies still have a long way to go toward equality for all employees.

Now, it's your turn to help keep the tide turning.

The Human Rights Campaign's Buyer's Guide gives you the information you need to support products from companies that support equality.

Together, we can help affect real change in workplaces across the country.

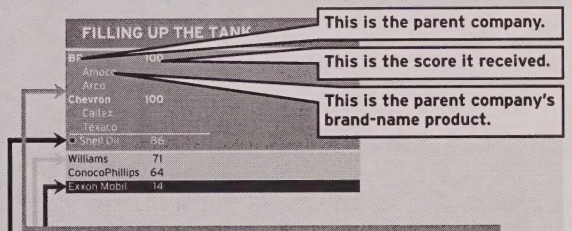


Sincerely,

Joe Solmonese
President

HOW TO USE THIS BUYER'S GUIDE

Each company/brand is assigned one of three colors based on its score in our report: red, yellow or green.



Green (86-100): Companies/brands with one of our highest scores. Perfect scoring companies are in **bold**. Consumers should make every effort to support these companies.

Yellow (44-85): Companies/brands that have taken steps toward a fair-minded workplace, but there is still progress to be made.

Red (0-43): Companies/brands that have made little to no effort in furthering equality. If possible, make the choice to support a fairer company.

● **Human Rights Campaign National Corporate Sponsors**
The support of these companies is directly tied to the Human Rights Campaign's success in ensuring equality for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Americans.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Where do the scores in this guide come from?
The information comes from the 2005 Corporate Equality Index which is the Human Rights Campaign Foundation's annual report card on corporate America's treatment of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender employees, consumers and investors.

How are scores calculated?
Corporations are rated on a scale from zero to 100 on seven key criteria ensuring fair treatment for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender employees, including protection against discrimination, parity of health care benefits for domestic partners and other criteria.

Why don't I see a company listed?
The Human Rights Campaign researches policies at Fortune 500 and Forbes 200 companies; however, we don't rate a company until we have been able to gather all the information we need. Also, companies with fewer than 500 employees are not included in the report.

How can I get a company listed?
The Human Rights Campaign Foundation is always looking to expand the Corporate Equality Index. Any company with more than 500 employees is encouraged to contact us, regardless of whether or not they are among the Fortune 500.

For more information or to contact us, please visit www.hrc.org/buyersguide

TABLE OF CONTENTS

5 STOCKING UP
6 GOING TO THE MARKET
8 FEEDING FIDO
9 HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS
10 MEDICINE CABINET
13 APPLIANCE CENTER
14 FILLING THE TOY BOX
15 COMPUTERS
16 STAYING ENTERTAINED
17 THE NEWSSTAND
18 KEEPING IN TOUCH
19 BOOKS & GIFTS
20 TECH SAVVY
FLYING AWAY
21 PLANNING AN ESCAPE
22 HITTING THE ROAD
23 FILLING UP THE TANK
24 MONEY MATTERS
25 INSURANCE & HEALTH CARE
26 FASHION FORWARD
27 EATING OUT
SENDING YOUR LOVE

STOCKING UP

Best Buy	**100**
● Mitchell Gold	
+ Bob Williams	**100**
Sears	**100**
Walgreens	**100**
Whole Foods Market	**100**
Albertson's	71
Acme Markets	
Shaw's	
Office Depot	71
Safeway	71
Supervalu	71
Save-A-Lot	
Shop 'n Save	
Shoppers Food Warehouse	
Circuit City	43
HEB Grocery	43
Kmart	43
Radio Shack	29
Rite Aid	29
Meijer	14
Staples	93
Quill	
Hannaford Brothers	86
Home Depot	86
Target	86
Costco Wholesale	57
Kroger	57
Quik Stop	
Turkey Hill	
Wal-Mart Stores	57
SAM'S CLUB	
Pathmark Stores	50

EQUALITY WATCH:

Circuit City may be great for electronics, but it isn't so great for equality. It only scores a 43 out of 100.

GOING TO THE MARKET

General Mills	**100**
Betty Crocker	
Cheerios	
Green Giant	
Nature Valley	
Old El Paso	
Pillsbury	
Progresso	
Kraft	**100**
A1	
Balance Bar	
Breyers	
Cool Whip	
Jell-O	
Kool-Aid	
Maxwell House	
Nabisco	
Oreo	
Ritz	
Velveeta	
Veryfine	
Miller	**100**
IceHouse	
Milwaukee's Best	
Molson Coors	**100**
Keystone	
Zima	
PepsiCo	**100**
Aquafina	
Doritos	
Frito-Lay	
Gatorade	
Pepsi	
Quaker Oats	
Tropicana	
Anheuser-Busch	86
Bud Light	
Budweiser	
Busch	
Corona	
Michelob	
Procter & Gamble	86
Folgers	
Pringles	
PUR	
Sunny Delight	
Ben & Jerry's	71
Campbell Soup	71
Godiva	
Pepperidge Farm	
Prego	
V8	
Coca-Cola	71
Dasani	
Fanta	
Fruitopia	
Minute Maid	
Powerade	
Sprite	
Dole Food	71
Kellogg	71
Cheez-It	
Eggo Waffles	
Keebler Foods	
Nutri-Grain	
Pop-Tarts	
Dean Foods	64
Verifine	
Domino's	57
Hershey	50
Hain Celestial	43
Celestial Seasonings	
Rice Dreams	
Soy Dream	
H J Heinz	29
Classico	
Smart Ones	

EQUALITY WATCH:

Celestial Seasonings may be good for tea, but it's not so great for equality. Hain Celestial only scores a 43 out of 100.

In 2005, the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender market was estimated to yield $610 billion worth of buying power.

Source: Witeck-Combs Communications/Packaged Facts

FEEDING FIDO

Procter & Gamble	86
Iams	
Colgate-Palmolive	79
Prescription Diet Canine	
Prescription Diet Feline	
Science Diet	
Nestlé Purina	29
Alpo	
Fancy Feast	
Friskies	

77% of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people would choose products from companies with a positive stance toward equality.

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS

Owens-Corning	**100**	Kimberly-Clark	86
● **Replacements, Ltd**	**100**	Kleenex	
SC Johnson & Son	**100**	Scott	
Drano		Viva	
Edge		Procter & Gamble	86
Fantastik		Ace Bleach	
Glade		Bounce	
Grab-it		Bounty	
OFF		Cascade	
Oust		Charmin	
Pledge		Cheer	
Raid		Dawn	
Saran		Downy	
Scrubbing Bubbles		Dryel	
Shout		Febreze	
Skintimate		Joy	
Vanish		Mr. Clean	
Windex		Swiffer	
Ziploc		Tide	
Colgate-Palmolive	79	Clorox	57
Ajax		Brita	
Murphy's Oil Soap		Formula 409	
Palmolive		Glad	
		Pine-Sol	
		SOS	
		Tilex	
Newell Rubbermaid	29	Rubbermaid	
Ace		Sanford	
Calphalon		Sharpie	
Goody		Shurline	
Irwin		Shaw Industries	14
Lenox			

Data source page 8: Witeck-Combs Communications/Harris Interactive

MEDICINE CABINET

Bausch & Lomb 100
- Boston
- PureVision
- SofLens
- ReNu

Estee Lauder 100
- Aveda
- Bobbi Brown
- Bumble and Bumble
- Clinique
- MAC
- Origins
- Prescriptives
- Proactiv
- Stila

GlaxoSmithKline 100
- Aquafresh
- Fionase
- NicoDerm CQ
- Sensodyne
- Tums

Pfizer 100
- BenGay
- Listerine
- Neosporin
- Nicorette
- Rogaine
- Rolaids
- Sudafed
- Visine

Johnson & Johnson 100
- Acuvue Contact Lenses
- Aveeno Skin Care Products
- Band-Aid
- Imodium
- Lactaid
- Monistat
- Motrin
- Neutrogena
- Pepcid AC
- Reach
- Stayfree
- Tylenol

Aventis Pharmaceuticals 86

Eli Lilly 86

Hoffmann-La Roche 86
- Accutane

Merck 86
- Mylanta
- Pepcid
- Singulair

Novartis Pharmaceutical 86
- Boost
- Bufferin
- CIBA Vision
- Excedrin
- Ex-Lax
- Maalox
- Theraflu
- Triaminic

Procter & Gamble 86
- Aussie
- Braun
- Charmin
- Clairol
- Cover Girl
- Crest
- Gillette
- Head & Shoulders
- Herbal Essence
- Ivory
- Mach 3
- Max Factor
- Metamucil
- Nice 'n Easy
- Noxzema
- Nyquil
- Olay
- Old Spice
- Oral-B
- Pampers
- Pantene Pro-V
- Pert Plus
- Pepto-Bismol
- Puffs
- Rembrandt
- Right Guard
- Safeguard
- Scope
- Secret
- Tampax
- Ultresse
- Venus
- Vicks 44
- Vidal Sassoon
- Zest

Schering-Plough 86
- Afrin
- Bain de Soleil
- Claritin
- Coppertone
- Dr Scholl's
- Tinactin

Colgate-Palmolive 79
- Actibrush
- Colgate
- Irish Spring
- Mennen
- Palmolive Botanicals
- Skin Bracer
- SoftSoap
- Speed Stick

Abbott Laboratories 71
- Ensure

Wyeth 64
- Advil
- Alavert
- Anbesol
- Caltrate
- Centrum
- ChapStick
- Dimetapp
- FiberCon
- Freelax
- Preparation H
- Primatene
- Robitussin

Avon Products 57
- Beyond Color
- Color Trend
- Hydra Finish
- Perfect Wear
- Skin-So-Soft

Biovail Pharmaceuticals 57

TAP Pharmaceutical Products 57

MEDICINE CABINET, continued

Bayer	29
Aleve	
Alka-Seltzer	
Femstat 3	
Flintstones Vitamins	
Midol	
One-A-Day	

APPLIANCE CENTER

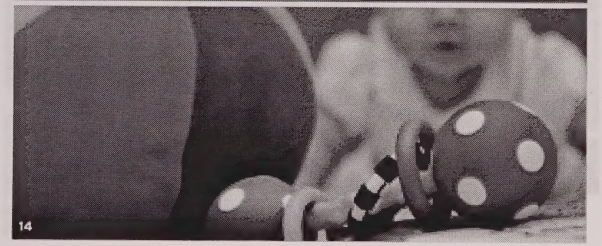
Whirlpool	**100**
Kenmore	
KitchenAid	
Speed Queen	
General Electric	86
Hotpoint	
Monogram	
Profile	
Sara Lee	86
Sunbeam	
Maytag	29
Amana	
Hoover	
Jenn-Air	
Magic Chef	
Performa	

EQUALITY WATCH:

While the Maytag repairman may be good at fixing products, he's not so great when it comes to equality. Maytag and its appliances only score a 29.

FILLING THE TOY BOX

Microsoft	**100**	Monopoly
X Box		Mousetrap
Electronic Arts	93	Mr Potato Head
EA Games		My Little Pony
EA Sports		Nerf
Hasbro	86	Operation
Candy Land		Play-Doh
Chutes and Ladders		Scattegories
Connect Four		Scrabble
Easy-Bake Oven		Sorry!
Furby		Super Soaker
GI Joe		Tinkertoys
Giga Pets		Trivial Pursuit
Lite-Brite		Twister
Magic: The Gathering		
Mattel	57	Pictionary
American Girl		Power Wheels
Barbie		Tyco Electric Racing
Cabbage Patch Kids		Toys "R" Us 57
Fisher-Price		Babies "R" Us
Hot Wheels		Kids "R" Us
Matchbox		
Newell Rubbermaid	29	Little Tikes
Graco		



COMPUTERS

Adobe Systems	**100**
Apple	**100**
Dell	**100**
Hewlett-Packard	**100**
● IBM	**100**
Intel	**100**
Intuit	**100**
Lexmark International	**100**
Microsoft	**100**
Sun Microsystems	**100**
AOL	86
EarthLink	86
Texas Instruments	86
Advanced Micro Devices	71
Gateway	71

STAYING ENTERTAINED

Viacom	**100**
BET	
CBS	
CMT	
LOGO	
MTV Networks	
Nickelodeon	
Paramount Television	
● Showtime Networks	
VH1	
Clear Channel	86
Katz Media	
General Electric	86
NBC	
Time Warner	86
AOL	
CNN	
HBO	
Looney Tunes	
New Line Cinema	
Warner Bros Entertainment	
The Walt Disney Company	86
A&E	
ABC	
Disney Channel	
E!	
ESPN	
Fox Kids	
Lifetime (owned jointly by Disney and Hearst)	
US Weekly	
Blockbuster	71
Vivendi Universal	71

THE NEWSSTAND

CMP Media LLC	**100**
Information Week	
New York Times	**100**
About.com	
Boston Globe	
Viacom	**100**
Simon & Schuster	
Gannett	86
Detroit Free Press	
USA Today	
Knight Ridder	57
Miami Herald	
Philadelphia Inquirer	
Reuters	57
Dow Jones	43
Barrons	
Wall Street Journal	
RR Donnelley & Sons	43
McGraw-Hill	86
Architectural Record	
Business Week	
Scholastic	86
Encyclopedia Americana	
New Book of Knowledge	
Scholastic Encyclopedia of Presidents	
Scholastic Encyclopedia of Women	

78% of GLBT people would switch brands to companies that advertise in GLBT media.

Source: Witeck-Combs Communications/Harris Interactive

KEEPING IN TOUCH

AT&T 100
Motorola 100
SBC 100
Ameritech
Nevada Bell
Pacific Bell
Southern New England Telephone
Southwestern Bell

Sprint 100
BellSouth 86
Cingular Wireless 86
Comcast 86
Cox Communications 86
QUALCOMM 86
Qwest 86
Verizon 86

Nextel 71
Siemens 71
Verio 71
Working Assets Funding Service 71

Emerson 43
ALLTEL 29

BOOKS & GIFTS

Borders Group 100
Waldenbooks

Amazon.com 71
Internet Movie Database
Barnes & Noble 71
B. Dalton Bookseller
FunLand
GameStop
Hallmark Cards 71
Binney & Smith (Crayola)

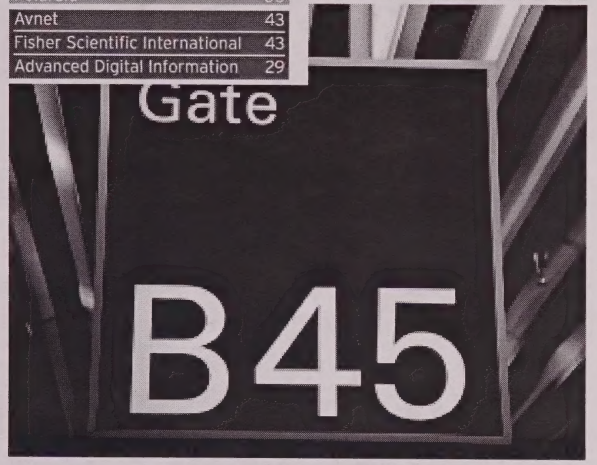
Bear Creek 64
Harry and David
Toys "R" Us 57
Babies "R" Us
Kids "R" Us

TECH SAVVY

Agilent Technologies 100
Avaya 100
Cisco Systems 100
Corning 100
Eastman Kodak 100
Lucent Technologies 100
Unisys 100
Xerox 100
Imation 93
Polaroid 86
Avnet 43
Fisher Scientific International 43
Advanced Digital Information 29

FLYING AWAY

● **American Airlines** 100
US Airways 100
Continental Airlines 86
Delta Airlines 86
Northwest Airlines 86
United Airlines 86
Ted
Southwest Airlines 64



PLANNING AN ESCAPE

Ford 100
Hertz
Global Hyatt 100
Hyatt Hotels
Regency
Kimpton Hotel & Restaurant 100
● **Olivia Cruises & Resorts** 100
Worldspan Technologies 100
Wyndham International 100
Busch Gardens 86
Carlson Companies 86
Country Inn & Suites
Park Plaza
Radisson
Cendant 86
Avis
Budget Rent A Car
Days Inn
Fairfield Resorts
Howard Johnson
Ramada
Super 8
Harrah's Entertainment 86
Caesar's Palace Las Vegas
Harrah's Las Vegas
Harrah's Lake Tahoe
Harvey's Lake Tahoe
Paris Hotel
Rio Las Vegas
● Hilton Hotels 86
Doubletree
Embassy Suites
Hampton
Homewood Suites
● Hotels.com 86
Marriott International 86
Courtyard
Fairfield Inn
Renaissance Hotels & Resorts
Residence Inn
The Ritz-Carlton
Spring Hill Suites
● MGM Mirage 86
Bellagio Las Vegas
Mandalay Bay Las Vegas
MGM Grand Las Vegas
Mirage Las Vegas
New York New York Las Vegas
Treasure Island Las Vegas
SeaWorld 86
Starwood Hotels & Resorts Worldwide 86
Four Points
Sheraton
St Regis
W
Westin
The Walt Disney Company 86
Vivendi Universal 71
Universal Studios
American President Lines 43

HITTING THE ROAD

Daimler Chrysler	**100**
Dodge	
Jeep	
Mercedes	
Ford	**100**
Aston Martin	
Jaguar	
Land Rover	
Lincoln	
Mazda	
Mercury	
Quality Care	
● Volvo Cars of North America	
Toyota Motor Sales, USA	**100**
Lexus	
Scion	
General Motors	86
Buick	
Cadillac	
Chevrolet	
Hummer	
Oldsmobile	
Pontiac	
Saab	
Saturn	
● Shell Oil	86
Jiffy Lube	
Pennzoil-Quaker State	
Subaru of America	86
Volkswagen of America	86
Audi	
Ryder Systems	79
Bridgestone Americas	57
Firestone	
AutoZone	43
Navistar International	43
Nissan North America	29
Infiniti	

EQUALITY WATCH:

The next time you fill up, speed past Exxon Mobil (14 out of 100) and pull into Shell, BP or Chevron, which are strong supporters of fairness in the workplace.

FILLING UP THE TANK

BP	**100**
Amoco	
Arco	
Chevron	**100**
Caltex	
Texaco	
● Shell Oil	86
Williams	71
ConocoPhillips	64
Exxon Mobil	14

MONEY MATTERS

American Express	**100**
Capital One Financial	**100**
Charles Schwab	**100**
● **Citigroup**	**100**
Citibank	
Citi Cards	
Citifinancial	
Citimortgage	
Primerica	
SmithBarney	
Women & Co.	
Credit Suisse First Boston (USA)	**100**
Deutsche Bank	**100**
Goldman Sachs	**100**
JP Morgan Chase	**100**
● Chase Home Finance	
Lehman Brothers Holdings	**100**
Mellon Financial	**100**
● **Merrill Lynch**	**100**
Northern Trust	**100**
● **Prudential Financial**	**100**
SunTrust Banks	**100**
UBS AG	**100**
● **Washington Mutual**	**100**

Wells Fargo	**100**
Wells Fargo Financial	
Wells Fargo Home Mortgage	
John Hancock Financial Services	93
ABN AMRO Holding NV	86
LaSalle Bank	
Bank of America	86
Bank of New York	86
Cendant Real Estate Franchise Group	86
Cendant Mortgage	
Century 21 Real Estate	
Coldwell Banker Real Estate	
Countrywide Financial	86
E*TRADE Financial Corporation	86
Fannie Mae	86
Harris	86
HSBC USA	86
MasterCard	86
Morgan Stanley	86
Discover	
Providian Financial	86
Sallie Mae	86
Wachovia	86
Wainwright Bank & Trust	86

PNC Financial Services Group	79
Deluxe	71
Freddie Mac	71
US Bancorp	71
Visa International	71

Comerica	64
National City	64
Fifth Third Bancorp	57
Golden West Financial	57
Instinet Group	57

AG Edwards	43
BB&T	43
Dow Jones & Wall Street Journal	43
Marsh & McLennan Companies	43
Morningstar	43
Franklin Templeton Investments	29

INSURANCE & HEALTH CARE

Aetna	**100**
Choicepoint	**100**
Chubb	**100**
Kaiser Permanente	**100**
Lincoln National	**100**
MetLife	**100**
Nationwide	**100**
Allied Insurance	
Scottsdale Insurance	
Titan Insurance	
Victoria Insurance	
● **Prudential Financial**	**100**
Prudential Long Term Care Insurance	
Wells Fargo	**100**
Wells Fargo Insurance	

John Hancock Financial Services	93
Allstate	86
Cigna	86
Guidant	86
Hartford Financial Services	86
Harvard Pilgrim Health Care	86
Mutual of Omaha	86
Principal Financial Group	86
Quest Diagnostics	86
SAFECO	86
St. Paul Travelers	86
Vision Service Plan	86
WellPoint	86
Associated Insurance	

UnumProvident	79
Allianz Life Insurance	71
State Farm	71
University Hospitals of Cleveland	71
Chamberlin Edmonds & Associates	64
New York Life Insurance	64

PacifiCare Health Systems	64
Caremark RX	57
Health Net	57
Humana	57
ING Insurance	57
Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance	57
Progressive	57

AEGON USA	43
Transamerica	
American International Group	43

72% of GLBT people prefer brands that support GLBT causes.

Source: Witeck-Combs Communications/Harris Interactive

FASHION FORWARD

Gap 100
Banana Republic
Old Navy
Levi Strauss 100
Dockers
Liz Claiborne 100
Nike 100
Cole Haan
Converse
Nordstrom 100
Faconnable
Sears 100
Land's End
Federated Department Stores 86
Bloomingdale's
Macy's
Hugo Boss 86
Limited Brands 86
Express
Victoria's Secret
Sara Lee 86
Hanes
Playtex
Wonderbra
Reebok International 79
Greg Norman
Ralph Lauren (Footwear)
Abercrombie & Fitch 71
Hollister
J.C. Penney 71
Lillian Vernon 71
Men's Wearhouse 71
K & G Men's Wearhouse
Suit Wearhouse
Donna Karan 57
DKNY
L.L. Bean 57

EATING OUT

Applebee's 86
Brinker International 86
Chili's
Corner Bakery Café
Macaroni Grill
Maggiano Little Italy
On the Border
Carlson Companies 86
TGI Friday's
Darden Restaurants 86
Olive Garden
Red Lobster
Starbucks 86
McDonald's 79
Boston Market
Chipotle Mexican Grill
Cracker Barrel Restaurants 29

SENDING YOUR LOVE

UPS 86
Mail Boxes, Etc.
FedEx 71
Federal Express
Kinko's

NATIONAL SPONSORS

Please support the companies that support equality.
For information, visit www.hrc.org/sponsors

PLATINUM SPONSORS

CHASE · citigroup · IBM · VOLVO for life

GOLD SPONSORS

American Airlines · American Eagle · hotels.com · olivia · Mitchell Gold +Bob Williams · Prudential Financial · Washington Mutual

SILVER SPONSORS

The Advocate · OUT · Canada · SHOWTIME · MGM MIRAGE · Merrill Lynch

BRONZE SPONSORS

Deloitte · Replacements, Ltd. China, Crystal & Silver • Old & New · Hilton

NOTES ON EQUALITY

Look for new scores this fall!

The 2006 Corporate Equality Index and "Buying for Equality Guide" will be released in the late fall. New for 2006, the Human Rights Campaign Foundation's Workplace Project will survey and report data from organizations not previously represented in the CEI, including the Fortune 1000, S&P 500, AmLaw 100 and the top 200 Forbes largest private employers.

Don't see a company listed?

Please visit *www.hrc.org/cei* to search our database, find the latest information, download surveys and contact the Human Rights Campaign's Workplace Project to provide new information on specific companies.

Please note that in developing the "Buying for Equality Guide," the Human Rights Campaign recognized the many factors of importance to our membership when deciding which items to purchase including product quality, customer service, environmental and/or social responsibility. This guide attempts to shed light on GLBT equality in the workplace and is only intended to be one of the factors by which fair-minded consumers make purchasing decisions.

Timeline of Lesbian and Bisexual Regular and Recurring Characters on U.S. Television

Note: This timeline does not include characters who appeared in less than three episodes of a series (e.g. it doesn't include the *Picket Fences* episode from 1993, or this season's *Fastlane* episode, since those were single-episode storylines and the lesbian/bi characters weren't around for at least 3 episodes).

1. Characters are listed in the year they are first introduced, or the year they come out, if they previously only had heterosexual relationships
2. Bisexual characters are indicated with an asterisk *
3. Characters on shows or movies on premium channels (HBO, Showtime, etc.) are indicated with a grey background

Also see the graphical timeline of lesbian kisses on television.

1976		Pamela Bellwood as Amy and Frances Lee McCain as Jenny in the movie *The War Widow* (PBS)
1977		Barbara Hershey as Ellen Lange, Diana Scarwid as Casey Walker, and Salome Jens as Judge Kendis Winslow in the movie *In the Glitter Palace*--also known as *A Woman Accused* (NBC)
1978		Jane Alexander and Gina Rowlands as lesbian mothers in the movie *A Question of Love* (ABC)
1982		Patty Duke as Helen and Sara Botsford as Angie in the movie *By Design* (HBO)
1983		Donna Pescow as Dr. Lynn Carson on *All My Children* (ABC) --First recurring or regular lesbian character on daytime television
1984		Colleen Dewhurst as a lesbian film editor in the movie *The Glitter Place* (HBO)

1987		Antoinette Byron as Bonnie Harper in the sitcom *Women in Prison* (Fox)
1988		Gail Strickland as Marily McGrath and Gina Hecht as her lover Patti on ABC's *Heartbeat* (ABC) --First recurring or regular lesbian character on primetime television
1989		Lonette McKee as Miss Loraine and Paula Kelly as her lover Tee in *The Women of Brewster's Place* (ABC)
1990		Charolotte Coleman as teenager Jess in the movie *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit* (A&E)
1991		Amanda Donohoe as C.J. Lamb* on *L.A. Law* (NBC) --First kiss between women on a primetime television series (with Michele Greene's Abby Perkins) --First recurring or regular bisexual character on a primetime television series
1992		Jean Smart as a serial killer in the movie *Overkill: The Aileen Wuornos Story* (CBS)
		Sandra Bernhard as Nancy* and Morgan Fairchild as Marla on *Roseanne* (ABC)
1993		Nora Dunn as Norma Lear on *Sisters* (NBC)
		Meredith Baxter and Joanna Cassidy in the afterschool special *Other Mothers* (CBS)
1994		Anita Barone/Jane Sibbett as Ross's ex-wife Carol and Jessica Hecht as her partner Susan on *Friends* (NBC) --First lesbian characters to be "married" on television in 1995
		Sara Melson as Alison Lash on *Beverly Hills 90210* (Fox)
		Sabrina Lloyd in the movie *More Than Friends: The Coming Out of Heidi Leiter* (HBO)
1995		Glenn Close as General Margerethe Cammermeyer and Judy Davis as her partner in the movie *Serving in Silence: the Margarethe Cammermeyer Story* (NBC)
		Jenifer Lewis asRosetta Reide and Cree Summmer as Danny Gates on *Courthouse* (CBS) --First recurring or regular African-American lesbian characters on a

1996		Lisa Edelstein as Rhonda Roth and Kristin Datillo as Suzanne on *Relativity* (ABC) --First kiss between lesbian characters on television
		Jorja Fox as Dr. Maggie Doyle on *ER* (NBC)
		Robin Bartlett as Debbie Buchman and Susan Plakson as Dr. Joan Golfinos on *Mad About You* (ABC)
		Paige Turco and Lisa Darr as Officer Abby Sullivan and her partner on *NYPD Blue* (NBC)
		Jeri Ryan as Valerie on *Melrose Place* (Fox)
		Angela Dohrmann as Stacy Bridges on *Nash Bridges* (CBS)
		Estelle Parsons as Bev Harris, Roseanne's mother, on *Roseanne* (ABC) --First senior recurring or regular lesbian character on a TV series
		Valerie Bertinelli as a lesbian mother in the movie *Two Mothers for Zachary* (ABC)
		Felicity Huffman as Donna and Susan Gibney as Liz on *Bedtime* (Showtime)
		Diana Scarward as Aunt Raylene in the movie *Bastard Out of Carolina* (Showtime)
		Kyra Sedgewick and Helen Mirren in the movie *Losing Chase* (Showtime)
1997		Ellen Degeneres as Ellen Morgan on *Ellen* (ABC) --First sitcom to revolve around a lesbian character --First time lesbian sex was explicitly discussed on a primetime television series
		Lisa Darr as Laurie Manning on *Ellen* (ABC)
		JoNell Kennedy as Maura McGee on *Malcolm & Eddie*
		Ruta Lee as Bev's girlfriend Joyce Levine on *Roseanne* (ABC)
1998		Angelina Jolie as a supermodel in the movie *Gia* (HBO)
1999		Amber Benson as Tara on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (WB)
		Alley Mills as Harrison's mom Robin John on *Popular* (WB)
		Christine Belford as Steve's mother on *Beverly Hills 90210* (Fox)
		LaTanya Richardson as Dorothy's mother's lover in *Introducing Dorothy Dandridge* (HBO)
2000		Alyson Hannigan as Willow on *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (WB) --Longest-running lesbian relationship on network television (2.5 seasons, with Tara)

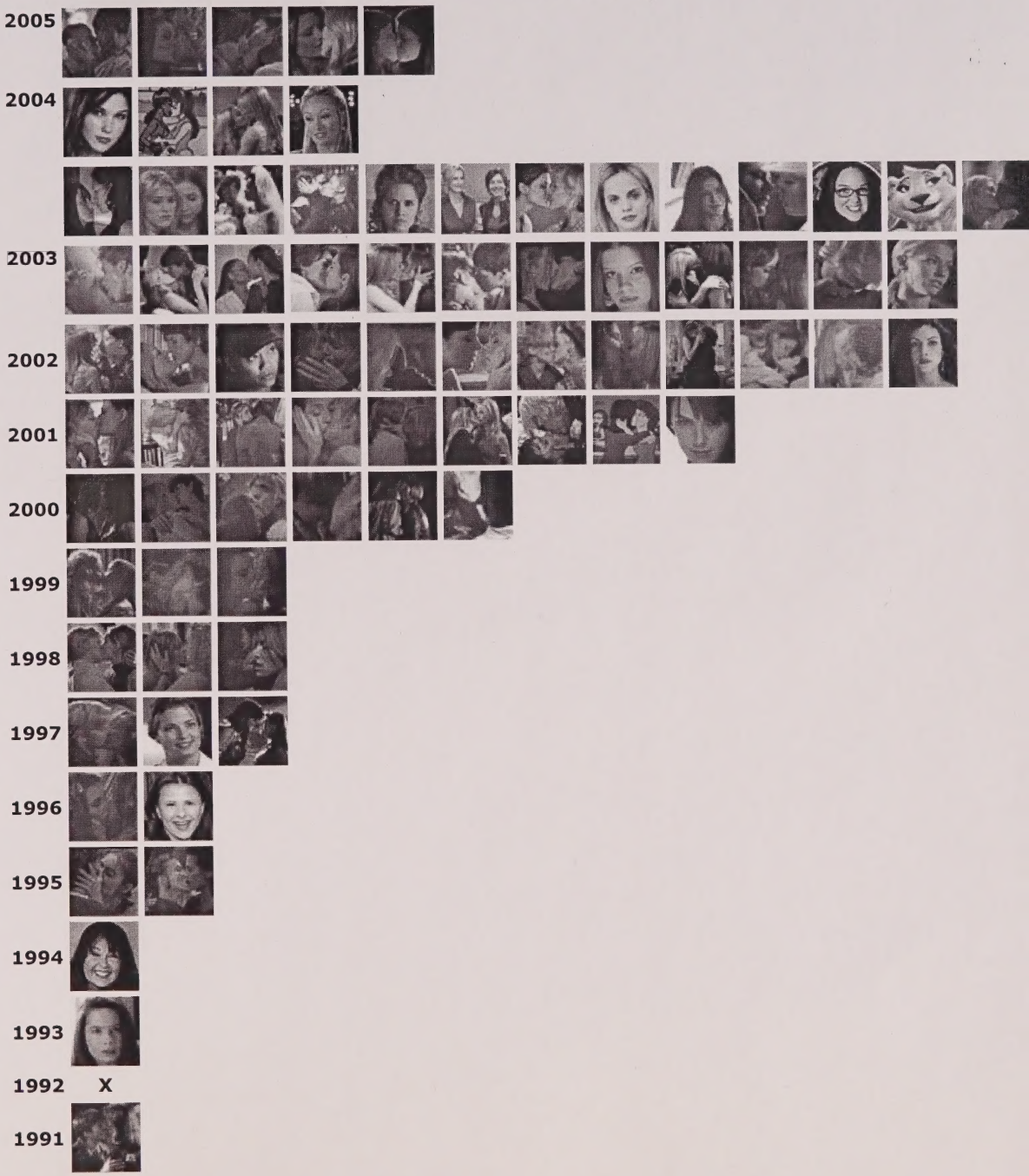
		Thea Gill as Lindsay and Michelle Clunie as Melanie on *Queer as Folk* (Showtime) --First lesbian sex scene on a TV series --Longest running lesbian relationship on TV (3 seasons)
		Ellen Muth as teenager Jane in the Lifetime movie *The Truth About Jane* (Lifetime)
		Venessa Redgrave, Ellen Degeneres, Sharon Stone, Michelle Williams, Chloe Sevigny, Nia Long, Natasha Lyonne, and others as lesbians in the movie *If These Walls Could Talk 2* (Showtime)
		Calista Flockhart as Christina and Valeria Golino as Lilly in the movie *Things You Can Tell Just by Looking at Her* (Showtime)
		Brittany Murphy as a naval officer in the movie *Common Ground* (Showtime)
2001		Lisa Vidal as Kerry's girlfriend Sandy Lopez on *ER* (NBC) --First recurring Latina lesbian character on a television series
		Elisabeth Rohm as Serena Southerlyn on *Law and Order* (NBC)
		LaTanya Richardson as Judge Attallah "Queenie" Sims on *100 Centre St.* (A&E)
		Brooke Shields and Cherry Jones in the TV movie *What Makes a Family* (Lifetime)
		Yolonda Ross as prison inmate Treasure in the movie *Stranger Inside* (HBO)
2002		Evan Rachel Wood as Jessie and Micha Barton as her girlfriend Katie on *Once and Again* (ABC) --First kiss between lesbian/bi teenagers on a television series --First regular lesbian/bi high school character on a television series
		Brittany Daniel as Sophia* on *That 80's Show* (Fox)
		Sonja Sohn as Det. Shakima Greggs on *The Wire* (HBO) --First regular asian-american lesbian on TV (Sohn is half-Korean)
		Bernadette Peters and Rachel Ward in *Bobbie's Girl* (Showtime)
		Elle Macpherson* and Kate Capshaw* in *A Girl Thing* (Showtime)
2003		Mary Page Keller as Commander Beth O'Neill on *JAG* (CBS)

		Lindsay Price as Jane* on *Coupling* (NBC) (canceled after only a few episodes) --First Asian-American bisexual character on television
		Mary McCormack as Maggie* and Talia Balsam as Gail on *K Street* (HBO)
2004		Most of the cast of *The L Word*, including characters played by Jennifer Beals, Mia Kirshner, Laurel Holloman, Katherine Moennig, Karina Lombard, Leisha Hailey,*and Erin Daniels (Showtime) --First series on TV about lesbian/bisexual women --First recurring lesbian character played by a Native American woman (Lombard) on a television series
		Katie Finneran as Sharon on *Wonderfalls* (Fox) (canceled after only 4 episodes)
		Mena Suvari as Edie on *Six Feet Under* (HBO)
		Krista Kalmus as Charlie* and Makika Dominczky as Erika* on *North Shore* (FOX)
		Natalie Distler as Colleen* on *Rescue Me* (FX)
		Olivia Wilde as Alex* on *The O.C.* (Fox)
		Daniella Alonso as Anna* on *One Tree Hill* (WB)
2005		Laura Benanti as Billie* on *Starved* (FX)
		Cathy Janeen Doe as Simone on *Passions* (NBC) --First African American lesbian/bi character on daytime TV
		Paula Marshall as Regina on *Out of Practice* (CBS)
		Mandy Musgrave as Ashley* and Gabrielle Christian as Spencer on *South of Nowhere* (N)

Please email corrections, changes, or additions to webmaster@afterellen.com

Graphical Timeline of U.S. TV Shows with Lesbian Kisses

*Does not include kisses on reality shows



HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) Alabama is the state office of the nation's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. Please contact HRC Alabama State Manager, Eva Kendrick, at eva.kendrick@hrc.org or (205) 577-2006 with any questions about this and other bills affecting Alabama's LGBT community.

Senate Bill 145 - The Alabama Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act

Sponsor: Sens. Bill Hightower, Paul Bussman, Phil Williams, Rusty Glover, and Clay Scofield; **Committee:** Currently in Senate Health and Human Services in Chamber of Origin

HRC Alabama opposes Senate Bill 145, the Alabama Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act.

We believe this bill is a lingering reaction to marriage equality. Their purpose is to enshrine discrimination into law by granting state contractors who provide child welfare services the ability to discriminate with impunity in the provision of those services against qualified LGBTQ couples who want to foster and/or adopt.

We also acknowledge that religious organizations who engage in child welfare work are entitled to their religious viewpoints, and that the state cannot and should not be legislating on matters of faith. However, when engaged in taxpayer-funded activity, such as when the state awards a contract to care for children who are wards of the state in a foster care or pre-adoptive setting, any state contractor should be required to abide by state law.

Our opposition to SB 145 rests on two guiding principles:

1. Child welfare services should be guided by the overarching principle that guides all family law: **all determinations should be in the "best interest of the child"**. It isn't in the best interest of a child to deny them a qualified, loving family simply because that family doesn't share all of the tenets of the placing agency's faith; and
2. **Discrimination on the taxpayer's dime is unacceptable.** While all faith-based private agencies are entitled to their religious beliefs and those beliefs are subject to the rigorous protections of the First Amendment, there is no constitutional right to discriminate in the provision of taxpayer-funded programs. Children who are wards of the state are the

state's responsibility to care for, and their futures should not be limited by taxpayer-funded discrimination.

Potential consequences of SB 145 for Alabama's families include:

- A child placing agency could turn away a range of potential parents seeking to adopt a child - from LGBT couples to interfaith couples, single parents or a married couple where one prospective parent had been previously divorced.
- One of the cruelest consequences of these types of bills is that they would allow agencies to refuse to place foster children with members of their extended families - a practice often considered to be in the best interest of the child - based solely on the agency's religious beliefs. A loving, LGBT grandparent, for example, or a stable, welcoming LGBT relative could be deemed unsuitable under the proposed law.
- HB 24 would also allow an agency responsible for caring for LGBT youth to refer that child to a provider of the abusive, discredited practice of so-called "conversion therapy", if that was consistent with the agency's religious beliefs, without the state being able to intervene, cancel the contract, or withdraw support in other ways.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) Alabama is the state office of the nation's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. Please contact HRC Alabama State Manager, Eva Kendrick, at eva.kendrick@hrc.org or (205) 577-2006 with any questions about this and other bills affecting Alabama's LGBT community.

House Bill 8 - Hate Crimes Bill

Sponsor: Rep. Juandalynn Givan, **Committee:** House Judiciary Committee

HRC Alabama supports House Bill 8, a bill that would provide additional penalties for crimes motivated by the victim's sexual orientation or gender identity or expression, and recognize these offenses as hate crimes.

Under existing law, additional penalties are imposed against a person if the offense committed is motivated by the victim's race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, or physical or mental ability. **Sexual orientation and/or gender identity or expression are glaring omissions in the Alabama Hate Crimes code as LGBTQ Alabamians are disproportionately targets of hate speech and hate violence related to their real or perceived sexual orientation and/or gender identity or expression.**

House Bill 8 does not increase the mandatory minimum sentence for bias-motivated crimes. That sentence remains 10-15 years as currently stands in the state hate crimes code.

Talking Points on Hate Crimes:

1. **What is a hate crime?**
    a. A hate crime, also known as bias-motivated crime, occurs when the perpetrator intentionally selects the victim because of a bias or prejudice. Hate crimes affect the individual and the community to which that individual belongs.
    b. The term "hate crime" can also describe bias-driven property crimes that are meant to send a signal to a particular community. Although hateful speech can inflict emotional damage and alienate communities, the term "hate crime" does not include speech.

2. **How often do hate crimes occur?**
    a. Available statistics show that from 1996 to 2012, almost 150,000 hate crime offenses have been voluntarily reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with at least 7,495 reported in 2012, the FBI's most recent reporting period.
    b. Hate crimes based on race-related bias are most common. Hate crimes based on sexual orientation and religious bias alternate as the second most common types of bias.

3. **Who reports hate crimes?**
    a. A 2013 report conducted by the Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) found that **two out of every three hate crimes go unreported** because the victims believe the police would not or could not help them.
    b. The contributing factors behind these atrocious findings are variable - victims may have negative experiences with local authorities and not feel safe with reporting, they may not openly identify with the status that motivated the crime perpetrated against them, and even physical or psychological trauma from the incidence can deter victims from reporting. It is important to not only encourage better data collection, but to improve relationships between law enforcement and communities that foster proper reporting, and to take underreporting into account in conversations surrounding hate crime legislation.

4. **How many Alabama municipalities report hate crimes to the FBI through law enforcement channels?**
    a. Evidence indicates that although a staggering number of hate crimes are documented each year, these crimes are significantly underreported. Actual numbers are much higher. This is in part because state and local reporting of bias-motivated crimes to the FBI is voluntary under the Hate Crimes Statistics Act.
    b. According the 2015 Human Rights Campaign Municipal Equality Index (http://www.hrc.org/resources/mei-2015-see-your-citys-score), the only Alabama municipalities reporting hate crimes statistics to the FBI in 2013 were Mobile, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa.
    c. The FBI's 2014 Hate Crimes Statistics Report (https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/2014/tables/table-12) identified 39 participating Alabama law enforcement agencies covering a population of 794,907. However only four agencies submitted only nine hate crimes incident reports in 2014.

5. **Why are hate crimes prevention law important?**
    a. Hate crimes are different from other crimes. Hate crimes send a message that a particular group of people are not welcome simply because of who they are.
    b. Hate crimes are unique in that the terrorize entire communities - not just the victims of individual crimes.
    c. A September 2000 study funded by the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics shows that 85% of law enforcement officials surveyed recognize bias-motivated violence as more serious than similar crimes not motivated by bias.

6. **Do hate crimes prevention laws give certain people special protection?**
   Laws that address hate crimes don't divide us - violent, bias-motivated crimes do. Hate crimes laws don't discriminate. All victims of bias crime are protected by these laws, i.e., those of all races, all religions, all sexual orientations, all gender identities/expressions, etc.

7. **Are hate crimes laws constitutional?**
   The Supreme Court of the United States ruled in the early 1990s that hate crimes laws are constitutional. In R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul (505 U.S. 377 [1992]) and Wisconsin v. Mitchell (508 U.S. 476 [1993]), the Court concluded that evidentiary use of speech to prove motive or intent does not offend the First Amendment.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN ALABAMA

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) Alabama is the state office of the nation's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. Please contact HRC Alabama State Manager, Eva Kendrick, at eva.kendrick@hrc.org or (205) 577-2006 with any questions about this and other bills affecting Alabama's LGBT community.

House Bill 24 - The Alabama Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act

Sponsor: Rep. Rich Wingo, **Committee:** House Regular Order Agenda

HRC Alabama opposes House Bill 24, the Alabama Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act.

We believe this bill is a lingering reaction to marriage equality. Their purpose is to enshrine discrimination into law by granting state contractors who provide child welfare services the ability to discriminate with impunity in the provision of those services against qualified LGBTQ couples who want to foster and/or adopt.

We also acknowledge that religious organizations who engage in child welfare work are entitled to their religious viewpoints, and that the state cannot and should not be legislating on matters of faith. However, when engaged in taxpayer-funded activity, such as when the state awards a contract to care for children who are wards of the state in a foster care or pre-adoptive setting, any state contractor should be required to abide by state law.

Our opposition to HB 24 rests on two guiding principles:

1. Child welfare services should be guided by the overarching principle that guides all family law: **all determinations should be in the "best interest of the child"**. It isn't in the best interest of a child to deny them a qualified, loving family simply because that family doesn't share all of the tenets of the placing agency's faith; and
2. **Discrimination on the taxpayer's dime is unacceptable.** While all faith-based private agencies are entitled to their religious beliefs and those beliefs are subject to the rigorous protections of the First Amendment, there is no constitutional right to discriminate in the provision of taxpayer-funded programs. Children who are wards of the state are the

state's responsibility to care for, and their futures should not be limited by taxpayer-funded discrimination.

Potential consequences of HB 24 for Alabama's families include:

- A child placing agency could turn away a range of potential parents seeking to adopt a child - from LGBT couples to interfaith couples, single parents or a married couple where one prospective parent had been previously divorced.
- One of the cruelest consequences of these types of bills is that they would allow agencies to refuse to place foster children with members of their extended families - a practice often considered to be in the best interest of the child - based solely on the agency's religious beliefs. A loving, LGBT grandparent, for example, or a stable, welcoming LGBT relative could be deemed unsuitable under the proposed law.
- HB 24 would also allow an agency responsible for caring for LGBT youth to refer that child to a provider of the abusive, discredited practice of so-called "conversion therapy", if that was consistent with the agency's religious beliefs, without the state being able to intervene, cancel the contract, or withdraw support in other ways.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN ALABAMA

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) Alabama is the state office of the nation's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. Please contact HRC Alabama State Manager, Eva Kendrick, at eva.kendrick@hrc.org or (205) 577-2006 with any questions about this and other bills affecting Alabama's LGBT community.

House Bill 74 - Civil Rights and Nondiscrimination

Sponsor: Rep. Chris England, **Committee:** House Judiciary Committee

HRC Alabama supports House Bill 74, Representative Chris England's progressive civil rights and nondiscrimination protections bill.

House Bill 74 would provide that the right of a person to be free from discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, sex, **sexual orientation, gender identity**, or familial status **is a civil rights and would provide remedies for violations.**

The civil right to be free of discrimination shall include, but not be limited to, all of the following:

1. The right to **obtain and hold employment without discrimination.**
2. The right to **full enjoyment** of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges of any place of public resort, accommodation, assemblage, or amusement.
3. The right to **engage in property transaction**, including to obtain **housing**, without discrimination.
4. The right to engage in **credit and other contractual transactions** without discrimination.
5. The right **to vote and participate fully in the political process.**

House Bill 74 provides that any individual who is injured by an intentional act of discrimination or injured by employment discrimination may file a civil action in a court of competent jurisdiction and recover compensatory damages and punitive damages.

Religious corporations, associations, or societies are exempt from HB 74 related to the employment of an individual to perform work connected with the performance of religious activities by the corporation, association, or society.

LGBTQ Nondiscrimination Talking Points:

1. LGBTQ Alabamians enjoy **no legal protections** at either the local or the state level related to nondiscrimination in employment, housing, public accommodation, and credit.
2. **25%** of LGBTQ Alabamians have experienced **employment discrimination**.
3. **38%** of LGBTQ Alabamians have experienced **harassment at work**.
4. **41%** of LGBTQ **households** in Alabama **earn less than $45,000 annually**.
5. **40%** of LGBTQ Alabamians have experienced **harassment in public establishments**.
6. **19%** of LGBTQ Alabamians have experienced **harassment from a public servant like a police officer or firefighter**.
7. While **50%** of LGBTQ Alabamians self-identify as **people of faith**, **21%** or one-in-five persons, **report experiencing harassment monthly or more at their respective houses of worship**.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) Alabama is the state office of the nation's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. Please contact Eva Kendrick at eva.kendrick@hrc.org or (205) 577-2006 with any questions about this and other bills affecting Alabama's LGBT community.

Senate Bill 1 - The Alabama Privacy Act

Sponsor: Sen. Phil Williams; **Committee:** Currently in Senate Judiciary in Chamber of Origin

HRC Alabama opposes Senate Bill 1 - the Alabama Privacy Act - which proposes unnecessary, discriminatory legislation that targets already disproportionately vulnerable transgender persons, and attempts to put the burden on business owners to execute its policy.

We contend that this bill is rooted in **anti-trans animus**, and is an attempt to bring a **harmful "Bathroom Bill"** to Alabama. SB1 is not conducive with the prosperity of Alabama residents or Alabama economics, and is impossible to disentangle from its harmful consequences.

Talking Points:

1. **Anti-trans and anti-gender expansive discriminatory nature**. SB1 invades basic personal liberties and is rooted in unmerited claims. Restroom facilities are already designed for privacy and limited interaction; equal access does not change acceptable facility behavioral norms and does not provide a loophole for predatory action. Conversely, the individuals most susceptible to harassment in restrooms are those persons who want to simply use the facility that matches their gender identity and expression.
2. **Unnecessary legislation that is unfavorable for businesses and other public establishments**. SB1 would require entities providing public facilities to bear the cost of its superfluous impositions, forcing businesses to find a way to reallocate monetary and personnel resources towards restroom facility monitoring. Additionally, the discriminatory nature of the bill deters expansion of businesses and investments in Alabama.
3. **Costs of North Carolina's 2016 HB2 "Bathroom Bill".** We have seen the extraordinary economic toll of North Carolina's 2016 HB2 "Bathroom Bill"- an estimated $630 million loss in revenue in less than a year according to Forbes, including numerous withdrawals of existing and potential business ventures and jobs (such as PayPal, Deutsche Bank, and the NBA all-star game - all refusing to do business in the state because of the bill) and a multi-thousand dollar burden on North Carolina taxpayers for legal costs.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA

The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) Alabama is the state office of the nation's largest civil rights organization working to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans. Please contact HRC Alabama State Manager, Eva Kendrick, at eva.kendrick@hrc.org or (205) 577-2006 with any questions about this and other bills affecting Alabama's LGBT community.

Senate Bill 141 - Alabama State Employee Nondiscrimination Bill

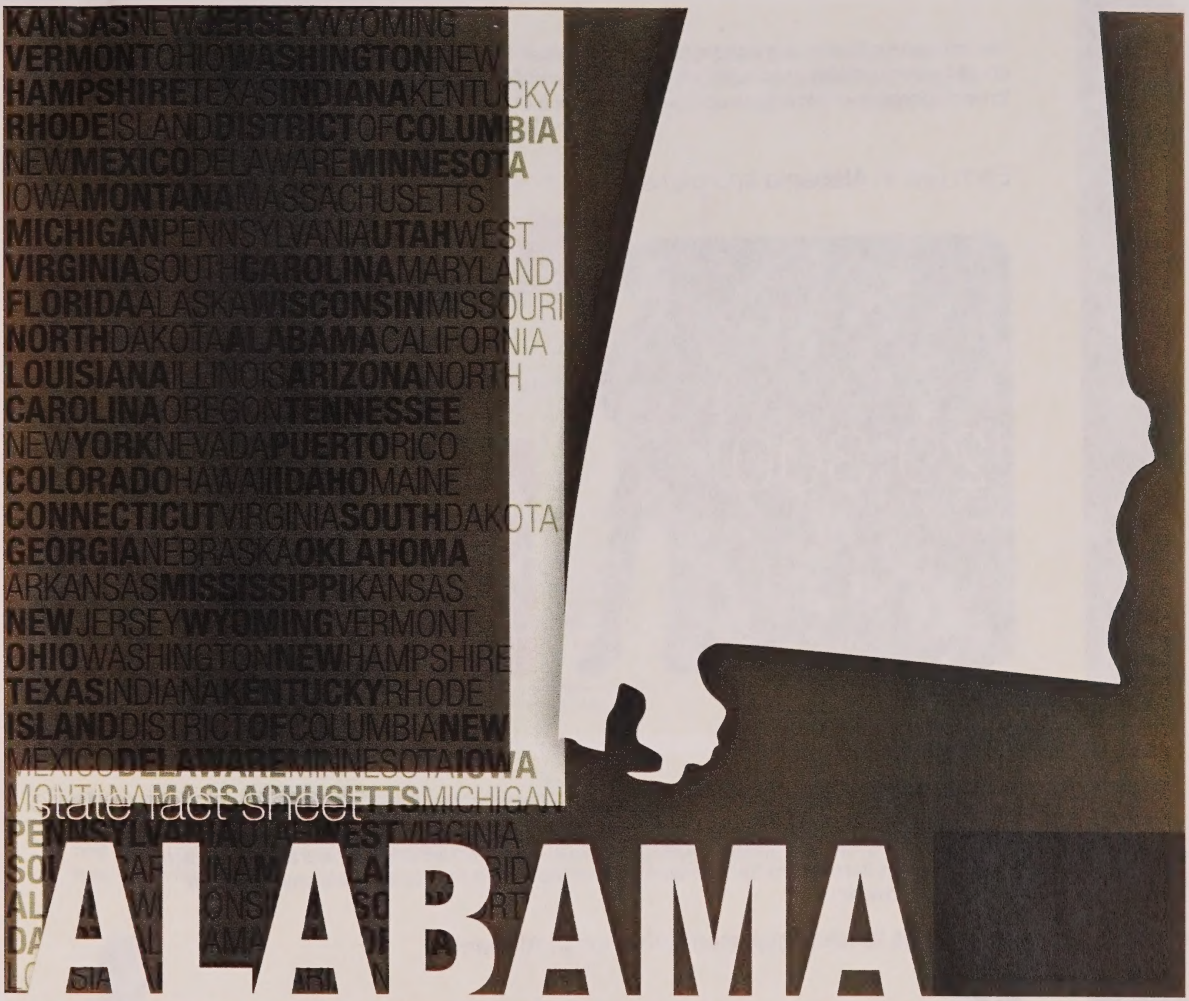
Sponsor: Sen. Bobby Singleton, **Committee:** Senate Governmental Affairs

HRC Alabama supports Senate Bill 141, a bill that would prohibit discrimination against a current or prospective state employee on the basis of their race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, disability or age.

While Senate Bill 141 provides that a current or prospective state employee who has been discriminated against shall have the right to file a complaint with the State Personnel Department, **nothing in the bill authorizes a current or prospective state employee to pursue a private cause of action or to subject the state or any state employee to civil damages, penalties, or other disability due to a violation of the bill.**

Employment Nondiscrimination Talking Points:

1. Alabama does not have public nor private employment nondiscrimination protections at any municipal or state level.
2. Sexual orientation and/or gender identity or expression **are not protected classes under the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964.**
3. **25% of LGBTQ Alabamians report experiencing discrimination in employment.**
4. 38% of LGBTQ Alabamians report experiencing harassment at work.
5. 41% of LGBTQ households in Alabama report earning less than $45,000 annually.



state fact sheet

ALABAMA

From 2008 to 2016, Casey Family Programs will have invested **$3.1 million** in Alabama to support the work of the child welfare system, courts, tribes, policymakers and other organizations to build communities of hope that safely reduce the need for foster care and support strong, lifelong families for all children.

Congress has a critical role to play in transforming how our nation responds to child abuse and neglect and builds hope for young lives. There is no time to lose.

Each year, approximately 3.2 million children across the country are involved in investigation or alternative response for maltreatment. About 398,900 youth under 18 are currently living in foster care.

Today, almost all of the federal government's dedicated child welfare funding can be spent by states only on services related to foster care. Casey Family Programs believes that we should be able to make smarter investments in services and interventions that are shown to better protect children, improve outcomes and strengthen families.

casey family programs

every child counts

We talk about a "foster care system," but in fact the vast majority of children who come to the attention of child welfare officials are not placed in foster care. In Alabama — and around the nation — the goal is to help vulnerable children grow up in safe, stable and loving families.

Each year in **Alabama** approximately:

making smarter investments

Foster care is a response to abuse and neglect, not a solution. Yet the bulk of the $7.3 billion in dedicated federal child welfare spending can be used by states only for services related to foster care. To truly transform the child welfare system in America, we should be able to make smarter investments of federal dollars in programs that ultimately reduce the need for foster care and produce better outcomes for children.

How federal funding is aligned with need in **Alabama:**

Title IV-E

$25,480,203
Approximate amount of federal money spent on foster care services

2,700 children receiving federal foster care dollars

Title IV-B

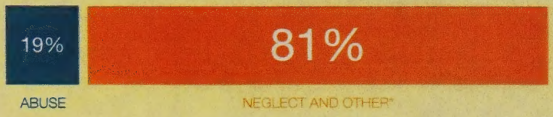
29,300 children involved in reports of maltreatment or other issues where timely interventions are important

$10,452,821
Approximate amount of federal money spent on prevention and permanency services

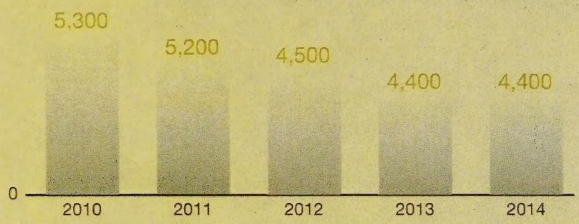
keeping children safe

Safety and effective response go hand in hand. Most children enter foster care due to neglect and other reasons — not because of physical or sexual abuse. In Alabama, providing targeted and effective interventions as soon as possible can safely prevent the need for foster care and better ensure that children who suffer any kind of maltreatment are not harmed again.

Reasons children in **Alabama** enter foster care:



Children under the age of 18 living **in foster care**
(on September 30 of each year)



* "Other" includes parental substance abuse, child substance abuse, child disability, child behavior problems, parent death, parent incarceration, caretaker inability to cope, relinquishment or inadequate housing.

98% of children do not experience a repeat occurrence of maltreatment within six months

everyone deserves a lifelong family

What happens to children who end up in foster care? Most are safely reunited with their own parent or extended family. A significant number are adopted. Communities across America have shown they can help more children to grow up in safe, stable families by providing appropriate and timely services after they return home.

Children exiting foster care in **Alabama:**

38%	31%	11%	10%	10%
are reunified with their families	exit to live with relatives or guardians	other*	exit to adoption	age out

* "Other" includes transferred to another agency, ran away or died.
Numbers may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Progress in Alabama

Casey Family Programs will invest $1 billion nationally by the end of the decade to support the work of states such as Alabama to keep children safe, make families strong and build communities of hope.

We partner with public child welfare systems, courts, policymakers, families, businesses, faith-based organizations, tribes and others to help better prevent abuse and neglect and support stable, lifelong families for all children.

In Alabama, the work includes:

- Ensuring more children have a safe, lifelong family as soon as possible.
- Developing new and better approaches for keeping vulnerable children safe from harm.

We believe this work is making a meaningful improvement to the lives of the state's children and families. Congress and the federal government have a role to play in making sure the state can make smart investments that effectively address the needs of the community's vulnerable children and their families.

Updated April 2016

This report is based on *Child Maltreatment 2014* and 2014 data made available by the National Data Archive on Child Abuse and Neglect (NDACAN):

- Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS)
- National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS)

Check with state officials for the most up-to-date data.

casey family programs

P 800.228.3559
P 206.282.7300
F 206.282.3555

casey.org | contactus@casey.org

Copyright © 2016, Casey Family Programs. All rights reserved.

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN
ALABAMA

EQUALITY ALABAMA

Alabama Equality Lobby Day

Wednesday, February 22, 2017
Alabama State House
11 South Union St. Montgomery, AL 36130

Agenda:

9:00 am - Registration
Alabama State House, Room 609
All lobby day advocates will meet HRC Alabama and Equality Alabama staff to sign in and receive your lobbying packets and meeting schedules. Coffee will be provided.

9:15 am - Welcome and Lobby Training
Alabama State House, Room 609
Advocates will gather for a welcome and lobbying training from HRC Alabama and Equality Alabama Staff. Pro-equality legislators, Rep. Patricia Todd and Rep. Juandalynn Givan, will join us to speak to effective lobbying strategies. Coffee will be provided.

10 - 11:30 am - Legislator Meetings
Senate Meetings: 7th Floor; House Meetings: 5th Floor
All participants will receive lobby packets and meeting schedules and recommendations.

11: 30 am - Senate Health Committee Meeting
Alabama State House, Room 304
Attend the Senate Health Committee where Senators will consider S.B. 145 - the Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act.

Dress Code: Business and professional dress.
Parking: Metered parking is available around the State House. Alabama Ave. between Decatur and S. Union Streets offers free street parking and free lot parking as well.
Contacts: Eva Kendrick, eva.kendrick@hrc.org, 205-577-2006; Tori Wolfe-Sisson, tori.wolfe-sisson@hrc.org, 334-462-4097; Alex Smith, alex@equalityalabama.org, 205-534-6566

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN ALABAMA

EQUALITY ALABAMA

Equality Lobby Day, Wednesday 2/22
Advocate Contact Form

Advocate Name:

Advocate Pronouns:

Address:

Email:
Phone:
Twitter:
Facebook:

Do you know your member in the House of Representatives or your Senator?

Are you interested in volunteer opportunities with HRC and Equality Alabama?

Are you interested in participating in a Legislative Rapid Response team in your area?

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN ALABAMA

EQUALITY ALABAMA

Equality Lobby Day, Wednesday 2/22
Legislator Meeting Follow-up Report Plan

Advocate Name(s):

Legislator Name:

Legislation Discussed/Legislator Position on Bill:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

Key Legislator Statements:

-
-
-
-

On a scale of 1-10 (with 10 being most successful), how would you rate your meeting's success?

What could have made your lobbying and advocacy experience more meaningful?

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

Alabama House Committee Contact Information

House Judiciary Committee

Bills in consideration: H.B. 8 - Hate Crimes Bill; H.B. 74 - Civil Rights Bill

1. Mike Jones, Chair, Republican, District 92, (334) 242-7739, mljatty@andycable.com, P.O. Box 957 Andalusia, AL 36420
2. Jim Hill, Vice Chair, Republican, District 50, (334) 242-7743, jim.hill@alhouse.gov, P.O. Box 310 Moody, AL 35004
3. Thad McClammy, Ranking Minority Member, District 76, (334) 242-7780, thadmcclammy@aol.com, 858 West South Boulevard Montgomery, AL 36105.
4. Mike Ball, Republican, District 10, (256) 539-5441, mikeball@knology.net, 105 Canterbury Circle Madison, AL 35758
5. Paul Beckman, Republican, District 88, (334) 834-4808, paulbeckmanjr@yahoo.com, P.O. Box 681055 Prattville, AL 36068
6. Marcel Black, Democrat, District 3, (256) 381-5277, marcel.black@blackandhughston.com, P.O. Box 491 Tuscumbia, AL 35674
7. Merika Coleman, Democrat, District 57, (205) 325-5308, merika.coleman@alhouse.gov, P.O. Box 28888 Birmingham, AL 35228, twitter:@RepColeman
8. Dickie Drake, Republican, District 45, (205) 699-7392, ddrake1080@aol.com, 7049 Briarwood Lane Leeds, AL 35094
9. Chris England, Democrat, District 70, (205) 535-4859, cjengland1@gmail.com, 1681 Ozier Drive Tuscaloosa, AL 35405, twitter:@RepEngland70
10. Allen Farley, Republican, District 15, (205) 960-7526, P.O. Box 516 McCalla, AL 35111, twitter:@RepAllenFarley

11. David Faulkner, Republican, District 46, (205) 870-9577, david.faulkner@alhouse.gov, 505 North 20th Street Birmingham, AL 35203, twitter:@RepFaulkner
12. Matt Fridy, Republican, District 73, (205) 665-1975, mdfridy@gmail.com, 800 Shades Creek Parkway Birmingham, AL 35209, twitter:@MattFridy
13. Juandalynn Givan, Democrat, District 60, (334) 242-7684, juandalynn.givan@alhouse.gov, 11 South Union St. Suite 528-E Montgomery, AL 36130, twitter:@RepJuandaGivan
14. Phillip Pettus, Republican, District 1, (256) 757-6679, phillip.pettus@alhouse.gov, 771 County Road 144 Killen, AL 35645,
15. Mike Holmes (Republican), District 31, (334)242-1347, mike.holmes@alsenate.gov, 67 Cabin Road Wetumpka, AL 36093.

House Health Committee

Bills in consideration: H.B. 24 - Alabama Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act

1. April Weaver, Chair, Republican, District 49, (205)620-6610, april.weaver@alhouse.gov , P.O. Box 1349 Alabaster, AL 35007, twitter:@aprilcweaver
2. Mike Millican, Vice Chair, Republican, District 17, (205)921-3214, mike.millican@alhouse.gov , 995 Country Estates Drive Hamilton, AL 35570,
3. John Knight, Ranking Minority Member, District 77, (334)242-7512, john.knight@alhouse.gov , P.O. Box 6300 Montgomery, AL 36106-0300
4. Elaine Beech, Democrat, District 65, (251)847-2604, elaine.beech@alhouse.gov , P.O. Box 1256 Chatom, AL 36518
5. Danny Crawford (Republican), District 5, (334)242-1616, danny.crawford@alsenate.gov, 11 South Union Street 522-A Montgomery, AL 36130.

6. Matt Fridy, Republican, District 73, (205) 665-1975, mdfridy@gmail.com, 800 Shades Creek Parkway Birmingham, AL 35209, twitter:@MattFridy
7. Laura Hall, Democrat, District 19, (256)859-2234, laura.hall@alhouse.gov, P.O. Box 3367 Huntsville, AL 35810
8. Ron Johnson, Republican, District 33, (256)249-9489, ronald.johnson@alhouse.gov, 3370 Sylacauga-Fayette Highway Sylacauga, AL 35151-4904
9. Paul Lee, Republican, District 86, (334)242- 7675, pwlee@graceba.net, 304 Ashborough Circle Dothan, AL 36301
10. Arnold Mooney, Republican, District 43, (205)222-8721, arnold.mooney@alhouse.gov, P.O. Box 382466 Birmingham, AL 35238-2466, twitter:@Arnoldfor43
11. Becky Nordgren, Republican, District 29, (256)546-1378, rebeccanordgren@gmail.com, 101 Cook Street Gadsden, AL 35904
12. Jim Patterson, Republican, District 21, (256)975-7990, jimpattersonhd21@gmail.com, P.O. Box 286 Meridianville, AL 35759
13. Pebblin Warren, Democrat, District 82, (334)242-7734, tiger9127@bellsouth.net, 11 South Union Street Suite 517-B Montgomery, AL 36130-2950
14. Jack (JW) Williams, Republican, District 102, (251)649-4164 jackwilliams55@icloud.com, 10655-F Mason Ferry Road Wilmer, AL 36587

House Education Policy Committee

1. Terri Collins, Chair, Republican, District 8,(256)260-2146, terri@terricollins.org, 2128 6th Avenue SE Suite 504 Decatur, AL 35601
2. Kerry Rich, Vice Chair, Republican, District 26, (256)582-0619, kerryrich@mclo.org, 412-A Gunter Avenue Guntersville, AL 35976
3. Mack Butler, Republican, District 30, (256)442-4255, mack.butler@alhouse.gov, 3518 Montrose Avenue Rainbow City, AL 35906

4. Barbara Drummond, Democrat, District 103, (334)242-7764, drummondbarbara@att.net, 1266 Horton Drive Mobile, AL 36605
5. Bob Fincher, Republican, District 37, (256)449-6149, rsfincher77@gmail.com, 11823 County Road 59 Woodland, AL 36280
6. Ed Henry, Republican, District 9, (256)260-2146, ed.henry@alhouse.gov, 2128 6th Avenue Suite 504 Decatur, AL 35601
7. Barry Moore, Republican, District 91, (334)242-7773, barry@barrymooreindustries.com, 139 Club Way Enterprise, AL 36330
8. Jim Patterson, Republican, District 21, (256)975-7990, jimpattersonhd21@gmail.com, P.O. Box 286 Meridianville, AL 35759
9. Chris Pringle, Republican, District 101, (251)341-1110, christpringle@southerntimberlands.com, 4 Princess Anne Road Mobile, AL 36608
10. Rod Scott, Democrat, District 55, (205)781-0261, rodhscott@gmail.com, P.O. Box 253 Fairfield, AL 35064
11. Patricia Todd, Democrat, District 54, (205)599-2856, reptodd@gmail.com, 1320 58th Street South Birmingham, AL 35222, twitter:@reptodd
12. Phil Williams, Republican, District 6, (256)489-0952, philhouse44@gmail.com, 2185 Old Monrovia Road Huntsville, AL 35806

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

ALABAMA

HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

Alabama Senate Committee Contact Information

Senate Judiciary Committee

Bills in consideration: S.B. 1 - Alabama Privacy Act

1. Cam Ward, Chair, Republican, District 14, (250) 620-6610, cam@camward.com, P.O. Box 1749 Alabaster, AL 35007, Twitter: @SenCamWard
2. Phil Williams, Vice Chair, Republican, District 10, (334) 242-7857, phil@williamsstatesenate.com, 400 Broad Street Suite 111 Gadsden, AL 35901
3. Greg Albritton, Republican, District 22, (334) 242-7843, galbritton@att.net, P.O. Box 776 Bay Minette, AL 36507
4. Linda Coleman-Madison, Democrat, District 20, (334) 242-7864, linda.coleman@birminghamal.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 738, Montgomery, AL 36130
5. Vivian Figures, Democrat, District 33, (334) 242-7871, vivian.figures@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 7985 Mobile, AL 36670
6. Arthur Orr, Republican, District 3, (256) 260-2147, www.arthurorr.com, P.O. Box 305 Decatur, AL 35602
7. Greg Reed, Republican, District 5, (334) 242-7894, greg.reed@alsenate.gov, 900 Highway 78 East Suite 200 #106 Jasper, AL 35502.
8. Bobby Singleton, Democrat, District 24, (334) 242-9202, bsingle362@gmail.com, 11 South Union Street Suite 738 Montgomery, AL 36130
9. Rodger Smitherman, Democrat, District 18, (334) 242-7870, rodger.smitherman@alsenate.gov, 2029 2nd Ave. North Birmingham, AL 35203.

10. Larry Stutts, Republican, District 6, (334) 242-7862, larry.stutts@alsenate.gov, 1120 South Jackson Hwy Suite 104 Sheffield, AL 35660
11. Tom Whatley, Republican, District 27, (334) 353-9625, tom.whatley@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 841 Auburn, AL 36831

Senate Health and Human Services Committee
Bills in consideration: S. B. 145 - Alabama Child Placing Agency Inclusion Act

1. Gerald Dial, Chair, Republican, District 13, (256) 239-9939, gerald_dial@yahoo.com, P.O. Box 248 Lineville, AL 36266
2. Jim McClendon, Vice Chair, Republican, District 11, (334) 242-7898, jimmcc@windstream.net, 11 South Union Street Suite 729 Montgomery, AL 36130
3. Greg Reed, Republican, District 5, (334) 242-7894, greg.reed@alsenate.gov, 900 Highway 78 East Suite 200 #106 Jasper, AL 35502.
4. Billy Beasley, Democrat, District 28, (334) 775-7657, billy.beasley@alsenate.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 737 Montgomery, AL 36130
5. Slade Blackwell, Republican, District 15, (334) 242-7851, sb@sladeblackwell.com, 2501 20th Place South Suite 225 Birmingham, AL 35203
6. Paul Bussman, Republican, District 4, (256) 734-1700, p_bussman@bellsouth.net, 1625 Main Avenue SW Cullman, AL 35055.
7. Linda Coleman-Madison, Democrat, District 20, (334) 242-7864, linda.coleman@birminghamal.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 738, Montgomery, AL 36130
8. Tim Melson, Republican, District 1, (256) 760-5707, P.O. Box 550 Florence, AL 35631
9. Harri Anne Smith, Independent, District 29, (334) 242-7879, harriannesmith@graceba.net, P.O. Box 483 Slocomb, AL 36375

10. Larry Stutts, Republican, District 6, (334) 242-7862, larry.stutts@alsenate.gov, 1120 South Jackson Hwy Suite 104 Sheffield, AL 35660
11. Jabo Waggoner, Republican, District 16, (205) 978-7405, jabo.waggoner@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 660609 Vestavia Hills, AL 35266
12. Cam Ward, Republican, District 14, (250) 620-6610, cam@camward.com, P.O. Box 1749 Alabaster, AL 35007, Twitter: @SenCamWard
13. Tom Whatley, Republican, District 27, (334) 353-9625, tom.whatley@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 841 Auburn, AL 36831

Senate Education and Youth Affairs Committee

1. Dick Brewbaker, Chair, Republican, District 25, (334) 242-7895, dick.brewbaker@alsenate.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 734 Montgomery, AL 36130
2. Quinton Ross, Vice Chair, Democrat, District 26, (334) 242-7880, quinton.ross@alsenate.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 740 Montgomery, AL 36130
3. Paul Bussman, Republican, District 4, (256) 734-1700, p_bussman@bellsouth.net, 1625 Main Avenue SW Cullman, AL 35055.
4. Vivian Figures, Democrat, District 33, (334) 242-7871, vivian.figures@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 7985 Mobile, AL 36670
5. Del Marsh, Republican, District 12, (256) 237-8647, www.alprotem.com, P.O. Drawer 2364 Anniston, AL 36202
6. Jim McClendon, Republican, District 11, (334) 242-7898, jimmcc@windstream.net, 11 South Union Street Suite 729 Montgomery, AL 36130
7. Trip Pittman, Republican, District 32, (334) 242-7897, trip.pittman@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 1812 Daphne, AL 36526
8. Hank Sanders, Democrat, District 23, (334) 526-4531, P.O. Box 1290 Selma, AL 36702

9. Shay Shelnutt, Republican, District 17, (205) 413-9022, shay.sd17@gmail.com, P.O. Box 120 Trussville, AL 35173

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee

Bills in consideration: S.B. 141 - Public Employees Nondiscrimination Bill

1. Jimmy Holley (Republican), *Committee Chair*, District 31, (334)242-7845,11 South Union Street Suite 732 Montgomery, AL 36130-4600.
2. Dick Brewbaker (Republican), District 25, (334)242-7895, dick.brewbaker@alsenate.gov, 11 South Union street Suite 734 Montgomery, AL 36130-4600. Twitter: @dick_brewbaker.
3. Paul Bussman (Republican), District 4, (256)734-1700, p_bussman@bellsouth.net, 1625 Main Avenue SW Cullman, AL 35055. Twitter: @PaulBussman.
4. Linda Coleman (Democrat), District 20, (205)254-2079, linda.coleman@birminghamal.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 738 Montgomery, AL 36130-4600. Twitter: @SenLindaColeman
5. Priscilla Dunn (Democrat), District 19, (334)242-7793, 11 South Union Street Suite 737 Montgomery, AL 36130-4600
6. Arthur Orr (Republican), District 3, (256)-260-2147, arthurorr.com, P.O. Box 305 Decatur, AL 35602. Twitter: @SenatorAOrr
7. Lee "Trip" Pittman (Republican), District 31, (251)621-0535, trip.pittman@alsenate.gov, P.O. Box 1812 Daphne, AL 36526. Twitter: @PittTrippman.
8. Paul Sanford (Republican), District 7, (334)242-7867, paul.sanford@alsenate.gov, 11 South Union Street Suite 731 Montgomery, AL 36130-4600. Twitter: @CitizenLawmaker.
9. Clay Scofield (Republican), District 9, (256)582-0169, clay.scofield@alsenate.gov, 412-A Gunter Avenue Guntersville, AL 35976. Twitter: @ALConservative.
10. Shay Shelnutt (Republican), District 17, (205)413-9022, shay.sd17@gmail.com, P.O. Box 120 Trussville, AL 35173. Twitter: @shelnutt417.

11. Phil Williams (Republican), District 10, (334)242-7857, phil@williamsstatesenate.com, 11 South Union Street Suite 733 Montgomery, AL 36130-4600. Twitter: @SenPhilWilliams

Company Name	City	State	Fortune Rank	Forbes Rank	AmLaw Rank	CEI 2006	1a	1b	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4	5	6
Harvard Pilgrim Health Care Inc.	Wellesley	MA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Hasbro Inc.	Pawtucket	RI	602			65	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	15	0
Health Net Inc.	Woodland Hills	CA	191			93	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Heller Ehrman LLP	San Francisco	CA			35	100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Hershey Company, The	Hershey	PA	442			50	15	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	15	15	0
Hewitt Associates	Lincolnshire	IL	633			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Hewlett-Packard Co.	Palo Alto	CA	11			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Hilton Hotels Corp.	Beverly Hills	CA	464			95	15	5	15	5	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	Nutley	NJ				80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Holland & Knight LLP	New York	NY			27	75	15	5	0	5	0	15	0	5	15	15	0
Home Depot Inc.	Atlanta	GA	14			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Honeywell International Inc.	Morristown	NJ	71			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Hospira Inc.	Lake Forest	IL	660			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Host Hotels & Resorts	Bethesda	MD	502			45	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	0	0	0	0
Hotels.com, L.P.	Dallas	TX				85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Howard & Howard Attorneys PC	Kalamazoo	MI				48	15	0	0	0	0	15	5	5	7.5	0	0
HSBC USA Inc.	Prospect Heights	IL				95	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Humana Inc.	Louisville	KY	150			40	15	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	15	0	0
Illinois Tool Works Inc.	Glenview	IL	173			53	15	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	7.5	15	0
Imation Corp.	Oakdale	MN				93	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
ING North America Insurance Corp.	Atlanta	GA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Intel Corp.	Santa Clara	CA	49			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
International Business Machines Corp.	Armonk	NY	10			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
International Paper Co.	Stamford	CT	82			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Interpublic Group of Companies Inc.	New York	NY	348			75	15	5	0	0	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Intuit Inc.	Mountain View	CA	779			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
ITT Industries Inc.	White Plains	NY	291			95	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
J. C. Penney Company Inc.	Plano	TX	118			50	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0
J.P. Morgan Chase & Co.	New York	NY	17			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Jenner & Block LLP	Chicago	IL			74	100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
John Hancock Financial Services Inc.	Boston	MA				93	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Johnson & Johnson	New Brunswick	NJ	32			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Kaiser Permanente	Oakland	CA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
KB Home	Los Angeles	CA	254			15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keane Inc.	Boston	MA				50	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0
Kellogg Co.	Battle Creek	MI	233			50	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	15	0
KeyCorp	Cleveland	OH	325			75	15	5	0	0	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Keyspan Corp	Brooklyn	NY	295			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Kilpatrick Stockton LLP	Atlanta	GA			80	63	15	0	0	0	0	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Kimberly-Clark Corporation	Irving	TX	140			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0

Company Name	City	State	Fortune Rank	Forbes Rank	AmLaw Rank	CEI 2006	1a	1b	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4	5	6
Exelon Corp.	Chicago	IL	144			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Exxon Mobil Corp.	Irving	TX	1			0	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	-15
Faegre & Benson	Minneapolis	MN			99	100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Fannie Mae	Washington	DC				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Federated Department Stores	Cincinnati	OH	87			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
FedEx Corp.	Memphis	TN	70			55	15	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	15	15	0
Fifth Third Bancorp	Cincinnati	OH	308			65	15	5	0	5	5	0	0	5	15	15	0
Fish & Richardson	Boston	MA			87	75	15	0	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Fisher Scientific International	Hampton	NH	389			40	15	0	0	0	5	15	5	0	0	0	0
Foley & Lardner	Milwaukee	WI			28	95	15	5	15	5	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Foley Hoag LLP	Boston	MA				80	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	0	15	0
Food Lion, LLC	Salisbury	NC				75	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Ford Motor Co.	Dearborn	MI	5			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Franklin Templeton Investments	San Mateo	CA				60	15	5	0	0	5	15	0	5	0	15	0
Freddie Mac	McLean	VA				85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Freescale Semiconductor Inc.	Austin	TX	368			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Fulbright & Jaworski LLP	Houston	TX			32	85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Gallup Organization	Washington	DC				30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
GameStop Corp.	Grapevine	TX	601			63	15	5	0	0	5	15	0	0	7.5	15	0
Gannett Co. Inc.	McLean	VA	296			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Gap Inc.	San Francisco	CA	139			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Gateway Inc.	Irvine	CA	508			65	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	0	15	0
Genentech Inc.	S. San Francisco	CA				80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
General Dynamics Corp.	Falls Church	VA	100			55	15	5	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	15	0
General Electric Co.	Fairfield	CT	7			75	15	5	0	5	5	15	0	0	15	15	0
General Mills Inc.	Minneapolis	MN	206			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
General Motors Corp.	Detroit	MI	3			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Genuine Parts Co.	Atlanta	GA	245			15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Giant Food LLC	Quincy	MA				78	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	0	0
GlaxoSmithKline plc	Philadelphia	PA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Global Hyatt Corp.	Chicago	IL		89		100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Golden West Financial Corp.	Oakland	CA	326			40	15	5	0	5	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Goldman Sachs Group Inc., The	New York	NY	41			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Google Inc.	Mountain View	CA	353			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Guidant Corp.	Indianapolis	IN	535			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
H. E. Butt Grocery Co.	San Antonio	TX		11		40	15	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	15	0
H. J. Heinz Co.	Pittsburgh	PA	262			15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hain Celestial Group Inc.	Melville	NY				30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Hallmark Cards Inc.	Kansas City	MO		41		75	15	0	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Hannaford Brothers	Portland	ME				65	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	15	0
Harrah's Entertainment Inc.	Las Vegas	NV	309			95	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Harris Bankcorp Inc.	Chicago	IL				75	15	5	0	0	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Harry & David Holdings Inc.	Medford	OR				58	15	0	0	0	0	15	5	0	7.5	15	0
Hartford Financial Services Co.	Hartford	CT	78			75	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0

Company Name	City	State	Fortune Rank	Forbes Rank	AmLaw Rank	CEI 2006	1a	1b	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4	5	6
Costco Wholesale Corp.	Issaquah	WA	28			93	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Countrywide Financial Corp.	Calabasas	CA	122			80	15	5	15	0	5	15	5	5	0	15	0
Cox Communications Inc.	Atlanta	GA	316			95	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Credit Suisse Securities (USA) LLC	New York	NY				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
CSX Corp.	Jacksonville	FL	266			40	15	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	15	0	0
Cummins Inc.	Columbus	IN	238			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
CUNA Mutual Insurance Group	Madison	WI	644			65	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	5	15	15	0
DaimlerChrysler Corp.	Auburn Hills	MI				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Dana Corp.	Toledo	OH	234			35	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0
Darden Restaurants	Orlando	FL	409			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Dean Foods Co.	Dallas	TX	216			73	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Deere & Co.	Moline	IL	96			48	15	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	7.5	15	0
Dell Inc.	Round Rock	TX	25			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Deloitte & Touche USA LLP	New York	NY				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Delphi Corp.	Troy	MI	77			60	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	15	0
Delta Air Lines Inc.	Atlanta	GA	135			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Deluxe Corp.	Shoreview	MN	873			60	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	15	0
Deutsche Bank	New York	NY				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Dole Food Co. Inc.	Westlake Village	CA	365			60	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	0	0	15	0
Dominion Resources Inc.	Richmond	VA	123			95	15	5	15	5	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Domino's Pizza Inc.	Ann Arbor	MI	966			45	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	15	15	0
Donna Karan	New York	NY				45	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	15	0
Dorsey & Whitney	Minneapolis	MN			65	100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Dow Chemical Co.	Midland	MI	36			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Dow Jones & Co. Inc.	New York	NY	867			30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
DPR Construction	Redwood City	CA				50	15	0	0	0	0	15	5	0	0	15	0
DTE Energy Co.	Detroit	MI	259			80	15	5	0	5	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Duke Energy Corp.	Charlotte	NC	117			65	15	5	0	5	5	0	0	5	15	15	0
DuPont (E. I. du Pont de Nemours)	Wilmington	DE	73			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
E*TRADE Financial Corporation	New York	NY	679			73	15	5	0	5	5	15	0	5	7.5	15	0
EarthLink Inc.	Atlanta	GA				63	15	0	0	0	5	15	0	5	7.5	15	0
Eastman Kodak Co.	Rochester	NY	155			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Edison International	Rosemead	CA	194			35	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Electronic Arts Inc.	Redwood City	CA	594			88	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Electronic Data Systems Corp.	Plano	TX	108			70	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	5	15	15	0
Eli Lilly & Co.	Indianapolis	IN	148			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
EMC Corp.	Hopkinton	MA	249			45	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0
Emerson Electric Co.	St. Louis	MO	126			45	15	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	15	0
Entergy Corp.	New Orleans	LA	218			13	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.5	0	-15
Ernst & Young LLP	New York	NY		7		100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Estee Lauder Companies	New York	NY	340			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0

Company Name	City	State	Fortune Rank	Forbes Rank	AmLaw Rank	CEI 2006	1a	1b	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4	5	6
Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft	New York	NY			46	95	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
California State Automobile Association	San Francisco	CA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Calpine Corp.	San Jose	CA	275			63	15	0	0	0	0	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Campbell Soup Co.	Camden	NJ	302			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Capital One Financial Corp.	McLean	VA	187			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Caremark RX	Nashville	TN	60			55	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	0	0	0
Cargill Inc.	Wayzata	MN		1		100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Carlson Companies Inc.	Minnetonka	MN		82		100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Caterpillar Inc.	Peoria	IL	55			35	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0
CBRL Group Inc.	Lebanon	TN	676			15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CDW Corporation	Vernon Hills	IL	343			58	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	7.5	0	0
Cendant Corp.	New York	NY	114			75	15	5	0	5	0	15	0	5	15	15	0
Cerner Corp.	Kansas City	MO				45	15	5	15	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
CH2M HILL Companies, Ltd.	Englewood	CO	591	88		80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Chamberlin Edmonds & Associates Inc	Atlanta	GA				68	15	0	0	0	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Charles Schwab Corp., The	San Francisco	CA	418			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Chevron Corp.	San Ramon	CA	4			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
ChoicePoint Inc.	Alpharetta	GA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Chubb Corp.	Warren	NJ	156			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
CIGNA Corp.	Philadelphia	PA	130			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Cingular Wireless	Atlanta	GA				85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Circuit City Stores Inc.	Richmond	VA	226			55	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	0	0	0
Cisco Systems Inc.	San Jose	CA	83			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Citigroup Inc.	New York	NY	8			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Clear Channel Communications Inc.	San Antonio	TX	252			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Clorox Company	Oakland	CA	460			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
CMP Media LLC	Manhasset	NY				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
CNA Insurance	Chicago	IL				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Coca-Cola Company	Atlanta	GA	89			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Coca-Cola Enterprises	Atlanta	GA	120			65	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	5	15	0	0
Colgate-Palmolive Co.	New York	NY	204			78	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Comcast Corp.	Philadelphia	PA	94			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Comerica Inc.	Detroit	MI	524			80	15	5	0	5	5	15	0	5	15	15	0
Compass Group North America	Charlotte	NC				65	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	5	0	15	0
ConocoPhillips	Houston	TX	6			78	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Consolidated Edison Co.	New York	NY	199			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Continental Airlines	Houston	TX	207			75	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Cooper Tire & Rubber	Findlay	OH	770			33	0	5	15	5	0	0	0	0	7.5	0	0
Coors Brewing Company	Golden	CO	373			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Corbis Corporation	Seattle	WA				65	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	0	15	0
Corning Inc.	Corning	NY	456			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0

Company Name	City	State	Fortune Rank	Forbes Rank	AmLaw Rank	CEI 2006	1a	1b	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4	5	6
Apple Computer Inc.	Cupertino	CA	159			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Applebee's International Inc.	Overland Park	KS				80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Applied Materials Inc.	Santa Clara	CA	317			73	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Aquila	Kansas City	MO	760			35	15	0	15	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aramark Corp.	Philadelphia	PA	215			80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Archer Daniels Midland Co.	Decatur	IL	56			15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arnold & Porter	Washington	DC			39	100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
AT&T Inc.	San Antonio	TX	39			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Automatic Data Processing Inc.	Roseland	NJ	271			30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
AutoZone Inc.	Memphis	TN	378			25	15	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avaya Inc.	Basking Ridge	NJ	434			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Aventis Pharmaceuticals Inc.	Bridgewater	NJ				80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Avnet Inc.	Phoenix	AZ	212			30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Avon Products	New York	NY	281			30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
Bain & Company Inc. (and Bridgespan Group)	Boston	MA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Baldor Electric Co.	Fort Smith	AR				15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ball Corporation	Broomfield	CO	374			58	15	5	0	5	5	15	0	5	7.5	0	0
Baltimore Gas & Electric Co.	Baltimore	MD				55	15	0	0	0	0	15	5	5	0	15	0
Bank of America Corp.	Charlotte	NC	12			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Bank of New York Co.	New York	NY	278			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Barclays Capital	New York	NY				90	15	5	15	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Barnes & Noble Inc.	New York	NY	422			60	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	0	15	0
Bausch & Lomb Inc.	Rochester	NY				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Baxter International Inc.	Deerfield	IL	240			73	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	7.5	15	0
Bayer Corp.	Pittsburgh	PA				15	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
BB&T Corp.	Winston-Salem	NC	292			25	15	5	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
BellSouth Corp.	Atlanta	GA	106			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Ben and Jerry's Homemade Inc.	South Burlington	VT				50	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	15	0
Best Buy Co. Inc.	Richfield	MN	76			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Bingham McCutchen	Boston	MA			26	80	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Biovail Pharmaceuticals Inc.	Bridgewater	NJ				40	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	0	0	0	0
Blockbuster Inc.	Dallas	TX	366			60	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	0	15	0
Boeing Co.	Chicago	IL	26			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Booz Allen Hamilton Inc.	McLean	VA		66		80	15	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Borders Group Inc.	Ann Arbor	MI	490			95	15	5	15	5	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
BP America	Warrenville	IL				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Bridgestone Americas Holding Inc.	Nashville	TN				45	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	15	0
Bright Horizons Family Solutions Inc.	Watertown	MA				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Brinker International Inc.	Dallas	TX	504			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	New York	NY	110			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Bryan Cave LLP	St. Louis	MO			55	75	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
C&S Wholesale Grocers Inc.	Keene	NH		8		40	15	0	0	0	5	15	5	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX A 2006 Corporate Equality Index Scores, Sorted Alphabetically by Company Name

See key p. 44

Company Name	City	State	Fortune Rank	Forbes Rank	AmLaw Rank	CEI 2006	1a	1b	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4	5	6
3M Company	St. Paul	MN	101			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
A.G. Edwards Inc.	St. Louis	MO	665			85	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	0	0
Abbott Laboratories	Abbott Park	IL	93			50	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	15	0
Abercrombie & Fitch Co.	New Albany	OH	639			50	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	15	0
ABN AMRO Holding N.V.	Chicago	IL				65	15	5	0	0	0	15	0	0	15	15	0
Accenture Ltd.	New York	NY				95	15	5	15	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
ACNielsen	Schaumburg	IL				50	0	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	15	0	0
Adobe Systems Inc.	San Jose	CA	817			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Advanced Digital Information Corp.	Redmond	WA				15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Advanced Micro Devices	Sunnyvale	CA	367			80	15	5	15	5	5	15	0	5	0	15	0
AEGON Insurance Group	Cedar Rapids	IA				35	0	5	0	0	5	15	5	5	0	0	0
Aetna Inc.	Hartford	CT	91			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Affiliated Computer Services	Dallas	TX	471			75	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
Agere Systems Inc.	Allentown	PA	904			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Agilent Technologies Inc.	Palo Alto	CA	319			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Air Products & Chemicals Inc.	Allentown	PA	282			75	15	5	15	0	5	0	0	5	15	15	0
Albertson's Inc.	Boise	ID	47			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Allegheny Energy	Greensburg	PA	572			50	0	5	0	5	0	15	5	5	0	15	0
Alliant Energy Corp.	Madison	WI	549			60	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	0	0
Alliant Techsystems	Edina	MN	638			65	15	5	15	0	5	15	5	5	0	0	0
Allianz Life Insurance Co. of North America	Minneapolis	MN				100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Allstate Corp., The	Northbrook	IL	58			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
ALLTEL Corp	Little Rock	AR	251			30	15	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	0
Alston & Bird LLP	Atlanta	GA			50	100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Amazon.com Inc.	Seattle	WA	272			65	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	5	15	0	0
American Express Co.	New York	NY	69			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
American Family Insurance Group	Madison	WI	323			75	15	5	0	0	0	15	5	5	15	15	0
American International Group Inc.	New York	NY	9			30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
American Power Conversion Corp	West Kingston	RI	815			58	15	5	0	5	0	15	5	5	7.5	0	0
Amgen Inc.	Thousand Oaks	CA	181			85	15	5	0	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
AMR Corp	Fort Worth	TX	105			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Anheuser-Busch Companies Inc.	St. Louis	MO	146			100	15	5	15	5	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
Aon Corp.	Chicago	IL	237			95	15	5	15	0	5	15	5	5	15	15	0
APL Limited	Oakland	CA				30	15	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0

Seth Persons

Civil Rights and Justice

Dr. LaMonte

April 15, 2005

Homosexuality and Christianity: A Struggle for Common Ground

The issue of homosexuality has been hotly debated within the Christian church for the past few decades, and the storm shows no signs of ending anytime soon. Both sides are standing their ground in the debate over the morality of homosexuality. Is there a place for homosexuality in the Christian church? This is the main question raised in the ongoing debates. According to Melissa Wilcox, professor of religion at Whitman College, being homosexual in the Christian church is difficult because "in many churches and among many Christian families, the two identities are mutually exclusive: one cannot be openly and proudly lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender and also be Christian" (10). This belief in that mutual exclusivity has caused a lot of problems for people attempting to reconcile their sexuality with their faith, or for people whose families, friends, and communities attempt to reconcile the concept of homosexuality with the faith that guides their lives. Many people look to the Bible for the answers, but there is a great deal of controversy over what this text, the foundation of Christian doctrine, has to say. In this paper, I will attempt to detail this arduous and nuanced debate, show the difficulty homosexuals have coming out in the Christian church, and propose a new tactic to accompany this seemingly never-ending debate.

The arguments over the Biblical stance on homosexuality are mostly centered on six small sections of verses, which Reverend Nancy Wilson calls "texts of terror" (65).

These are: Genesis 1-2, Genesis 19:1-9, Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, Romans 1:26-27, I Corinthians 6:9, and I Timothy 1-10 (Gomes 149). None of these passages where homosexuality, as we conceive of it today, is potentially dealt with have escaped this controversy. Some say that there is absolutely nothing cut and dry about what the Bible says about homosexuality; others say that it is crystal clear on the subject. Edward Malloy, author of *Homosexuality and the Christian Way of Life*, asserts that these passages have "been used as part of the traditional prohibition against homosexual acts as it has been formulated in the Christian community. Until quite recently, it was thought that the matter was closed" (186). But the matter is not closed, and the traditional interpretations are now being challenged. What I intend to do with this section of my paper is survey the ongoing debates over what each of these passages has to say on the matter. For ease of organization, I will go through each verse in the order they appear in the Bible, and I will attempt to withhold my personal opinion until after the discussion of the passages in question. Also, since there are so many translations available of the Bible, I feel it is important to point out that the translation I will be working from is the New Revised Standard Version; however, many of the scholars and theologians I will be looking at have used other translations. Though much of the debate is focused on mistranslation, the general controversy remains the same regardless of the contemporary translation; if mistranslated, it seems that this inaccuracy occurred well before our contemporary translations and has not been rectified since.

The first purported suggestion of some form of homosexuality appears in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah found in Genesis 19. In this passage, two angels come to Sodom and dine with Lot. The angels stay with Lot in his house, and the men of Sodom come to

Lot's house and demand he hand over his guests. This is the verse where the mention of homosexuality is supposed to be. Verse five reads: "and they called out to Lot, "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, so that we may know them." Lot then offers his virgin daughters, but the men refuse and become violent. The angels then warn Lot to gather his family and flee the city, because God will soon destroy it. His family flees, and Sodom and Gomorrah are then destroyed.

Peter J. Gomes, author of *The Good Book* and minister of The Memorial Church at Harvard, writes that this story "is perhaps the most famous instance in scripture where homosexuality is seen to be condemned" (150). The most common argument against homosexuality is derived from this selection, and the debate over this passage centers on the translation of the verb "know." It is commonly held that the people of Sodom were guilty of homogenital acts, and they wanted to, then, rape the angels visiting Lot (Helminiak 45). John Stott, rector emeritus of All Souls Church in London, summarizes a common argument against the interpretation of the verb "know" as sexual in nature when he writes: "[T]he Hebrew word for know (*yam da'*) occurs 943 times in the Old Testament, of which only ten occurrences refer to physical intercourse, and even then only to heterosexual intercourse" (19). He goes on to explain that the argument against the interpretation of "know" as sexual, in this context, is incorrect, and "it would therefore be better to translate the phrase 'so that we may get acquainted with them'" (19). Stott, however, disagrees with this argument. He claims that "although the verb *yam da'* is used in the Old Testament only ten times [to mean] sexual intercourse" the detractors do not acknowledge that "six of these occurrences are in Genesis and one in the Sodom story itself about Lot's daughters, who had not 'known' a man" (22).

Edward Malloy, author of *Homosexuality and the Christian Way of Life*, also defends the traditional interpretation. He writes: "In such a patriarchal society, Lot's offer of his two daughters, as gruesome and unfeeling as it might seem today, was a secondary element which reinforced the presumption that sexual lust was the central issue" (188). This would then reinforce the interpretation of "know" as sexual in nature. Gomes, however, takes a somewhat new stance and claims that the interpretation of the word "know," while highly debatable, is not the central issue here. He stresses that "we should not neglect the fact that the fate of the city [of Sodom] was determined well before the ugly incident at Lot's door. It was in behalf of that errand of doom, in fact, that the angels came at all" (151). He goes on to state, "Sodom is referred to throughout the Old Testament as a place of wickedness and is synonymous with it, but nowhere does it state that homosexuality was the wickedness in question" (152). In Ezekiel 16:49-50, the city is said to have had "pride, excess of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy. They were haughty and did abominable things before me." And in Matthew 10:14-15 and Luke 10:10-12, Jesus suggests that its great sin was its lack of hospitality (Gomes 152). Judging from these references, the destruction of Sodom was not based on sex. Helminiak writes, "the point of the story is not sexual ethics. [. . .] The point is abuse and assault, in whatever form they take" (47). Malloy agrees that "the Sodom story is not validly used as a proof-text against every form of homosexuality" (191). He goes on to say, however, that "At this point in history it is probably impossible to separate the meaning of the story from the relevant details which make it memorable. The very word 'sodomy' captures the staying power of the biblical reference" (191). Clearly, consensus will be difficult to obtain on this issue.

The next two verses to deal with homosexuality, Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, are best dealt with together, as they are both parts of the Holiness Code, which Gomes explains "is designed to provide a standard of moral behavior that will distinguish the Jews from the Canaanites" (153). The two verses in question read as follows:

> You shall not lie with a male as with a woman; it is an abomination.
>
> Leviticus 18:22

> If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination.
>
> Leviticus 20:13

These verses are clearly talking about some sort of homosexual act. The question then becomes what sort of act they are referring to and how applicable is this to us today. The debate is therefore less about translation and more about the contemporary relevance of this section of the Bible. Gomes points out, "these rules are designed for a very particular purpose and in a very particular setting" (153). The Holiness Code, whose purpose is "nation building," contains a huge amount of very specific rules that are ignored in contemporary Christianity. Also, the penalty of death for homosexual acts, as well as adultery and cursing one's parents among others, is completely ignored today. Other laws in the Holiness Code forbid "sow[ing] fields with two kinds of seed," "wear[ing] garments of two different kinds of materials," "round haircuts," tattoos, and sex during menstruation, all of which are examples of laws that we no longer follow. Malloy concedes that the references to homosexual acts in the Holiness Code were "an attempt to either reinforce prevailing societal practices or else prevent a recurrence of cultic types of homosexual acts" (193). This line of thought leads Helminiak to write, "The argument in

Leviticus is religious, not ethical or moral. [. . .] The intent is to keep Jewish identity strong. The concern is purity" (55). Many of the acts mentioned in the Holiness Code are never mentioned again in the Bible, a clear "prohibition of male-male sex" being one of those (55). Others, such as adultery, incest, and bestiality are mentioned again several times (55). This would lead some to suggest that this was a more minor offence, and one that was given little thought.

This brings us now to the question of how applicable these verses are to contemporary Christianity. Malloy suggests that these verses tell us three things:

> First, they give us our best indication of what Jewish attitudes were about homosexual behavior. [. . .] Second, since much of the Holiness Code has been suspended, there is no particular reason why these prohibitions should be carried over. Third, they help explain the silence of Jesus on the matter. Among the Jews homosexuality was not a major issue and sufficient instruction already existed. (193)

This is enough for many to dismiss the validity of these verses; however, there are those that disagree with this conclusion. Stott concludes, "The plain, natural interpretation of these two verses is that they prohibit homosexual intercourse of every kind. And the requirement of the death penalty [. . .] indicates the extreme seriousness with which homosexual practices were viewed" (24). Again there seems to be no sign of consensus on the correct interpretation of these verses.

The last three passages of the Bible to refer to some sort of homosexual act, Romans 1:26-27, I Corinthians 6:9, and I Timothy 1-10, all come from the writings of Paul. The first of these with which I will deal is Romans 1:26-27, which reads:

> For this reason God gave them up to degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, and in the same way also the men, giving up natural intercourse with women, were consumed with passion for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received their own persons the due penalty for their error.

This verse would appear to be a clear condemnation of all homosexual activity; however, there are two major arguments that have been espoused in defiance of this traditionally held interpretation. The first of these deals with the fact that Paul, who was unaware of the contemporary distinction placed between inversion, in which people have a biological attraction to the same sex, and perversion, in which someone who is heterosexual engages in homosexual activity, was addressing only the latter of these—those engaged in perversion (Stott 25; Gomes 127). As Gomes explains, "the whole point of Romans 1 is a discussion of people who know what is right but who, because of their arrogant willfulness in their fallen state, choose to act contrary to that knowledge" (127). It would then appear that the concept of perversion fits here, but inversion does not.

The second argument for a revision in the interpretation of Romans 1:26-27 is, as summarized by Stott, "Paul is evidently portraying the reckless, shameless, profligate, promiscuous behavior of people whom God has judicially 'given up'" (25). According to Stott, those who promote this side of the argument then ask, "What relevance has this to committed, loving homosexual partnerships?" (25). Stott would say that both of these arguments can be dismissed by appealing to Paul's invocation of "nature," which Stott equates with "the created order" (26). However, Stott's interpretation of "nature" here seems to be questionable as well. In a long, nuanced argument, Helminiak calls into

question the commonly held belief that the way Paul uses "nature" here is the same as what we mean by "nature"—as a judgment of natural law. However, Helminiak concludes, after examining the use of the Greek term *para physin*, which is what is translated as unnatural, that Paul, if using the phrase as it was commonly used, would mean something quite different. He writes, "For Paul, the word *natural* does not mean 'in accord with universal laws.' Rather, *natural* refers to what is characteristic, consistent, ordinary, standard, expected and regular" (79). He goes on to assert that *para physin* would be better translated as "unexpectedly," "in an unusual way," or "what we might mean if we said: 'Contrary to her nature, Jean got up and danced last night'" (79). In fact, Helminiak points out that Paul uses *para physin* in the same way when he refers to some actions of God. He explains that in Romans 11:24, "Paul describes how God grafted the wild branch of the Gentiles into the cultivated olive tree that is the Jews. [. . .] But to graft a wild tree into a cultivated tree is not the ordinary thing to do" (80). When Paul uses *para physin* here, he is referring to God doing something that is "atypical. God behaved in an unusual way" (80). Gomes echoes this when he explains, "'nature,' as Paul here utilizes the concept, has nothing to do with a theory of Natural Law, which comes into the picture some centuries later" (157). He concurs that "customary" or "characteristic" are more in line with what Paul means when he speaks of things being "unnatural" than the current interpretation that Paul is referring to things "innate, inherent, or immutable" (158). However, this new interpretation has yet to be adopted by the mainstream.

I will deal with the final two passages, 1 Corinthians 6:9-10 and 1 Timothy 1:9-10, together since most of the texts I looked at in my research did the same. Before

moving on to a discussion of the contemporary theological debate, we should read the texts:

> Do you not know that wrongdoers will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived! Fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, male prostitutes, sodomites, thieves, the greedy, drunkards, revilers, robbers—none of these will inherit the kingdom of God.
>
> 1 Corinthians 6:9-10

> This means understanding that the law is laid down not for the innocent but for the lawless and disobedient, for the godless and sinful, for the unholy and profane, for those who kill their father or mother, for murderers, fornicators, sodomites, slave traders, liars, perjurers, and whatever else is contrary to the sound teaching…
>
> 1 Timothy 1:9-10

What we find in these two passages of scripture is what is commonly referred to as the "Pauline lists of virtues and vices," which Malloy explains were "taken over from the moral wisdom of the Greco-Roman world. They are illustrative rather than definitive. What Paul does is adapt pre-given material to his own purposes" (195). This line of thought leads Malloy to ask: "Did he [Paul] choose his descriptive language carefully or was he merely relying on a familiar frame of reference to suggest the general type of conduct he abhorred?" (196). Helminiak suggests the latter option. He writes, "[Paul] just repeats the list of wrongs that people generally decried in his society, rhetorically piling up a heap of vices to overwhelm his readers, as was the style of the day" (112). He compares Paul's rhetorical device to someone today listing "drugs, guns, teenage

violence, child abuse and the breakdown of the family" in the same way, for the same purpose (112).

However, it appears that Paul's rhetoric is not the only thing up for debate in these passages. There is a significant amount of controversy over the translation of two words in these passages, *malakoi* and *arsenokoitai*. These words, it is argued, have been mistranslated for years. *Malakoi* literally means "soft to the touch" and, according to Stott, denotes the passive partner in male homosexual sex (27). *Arsenokoitai* is literally "male in a bed" and would have referred to the active partner (27). Helminiak explains *malakoi* was frequently used "to belittle men [and] was taken to mean something like 'effeminate,' 'women-like,'" but another time it is used in the Bible, Matthew 11:8, it is used to describe clothes (108). It is commonly combined with *arsenokoitai* and translated as homosexual (Stott 27). In the New Revised Edition, as seen above, it has been translated as "male prostitute," which we will see is a more apt translation than "homosexual." Helminiak argues that this word is better translated, as John Boswell, another theologian who has prominently addressed this issue, suggests, as "'loose,' 'wanton,' 'unrestrained' or 'undisciplined'" (qtd in Helminiak 108). John McNeill suggests the same interpretation: "In a moral context [*malakos*] is normally employed to signify loose, morally wake, or lacking in self-control. There is no justification for applying *malakos* specifically to homosexuality" (qtd in Malloy 196).

But what of *arsenokoitai*? This word, which appears in both passages, has frequently been translated as sodomite or homosexual. However, as Helminiak argues, this word is very obscure, only appears, throughout history, in lists of vices similar to these, leaving us unsure of what it was literally used to denote (109). Helminiak breaks

down the word, explaining that *arseno-* means"men, male humans, plain and simple," whereas "*koitai* comes from the word that means bedroom or bed and refers to 'lying' with—that is, having sex with—someone" (109). He explains that when combined it would mean, literally, "'man-lier,' 'man-sleeper,' or, more graphically, 'man-penetrator'" (109). However, he asks, "Is 'man' to emphasize the gender of the sexual agent: male? Or is 'man' to indicate the object of the sexual act?" (109). He argues that we have no way of telling which of these it means "from the word itself" (109). So what do we do? How do we translate this term? According to Gomes, "the term *homosexuality* was not coined until the latter half of the nineteenth century when it was used by a Hungarian writer commenting on the Prussian legal code" (148). This would suggest that translating either of these words as "homosexual" would be incorrect since that word, and all of the connotations attached, are contemporary, as Gomes explains:

> The biblical writers never contemplated a form of homosexuality in which loving, monogamous, and faithful persons sought to live out the implications of the gospel with as much fidelity to it as any heterosexual believer. All they knew of homosexuality was prostitution, pederasty, lasciviousness, and exploitation. (162)

Helminiak concurs. He writes, "To say 'homosexual' implies a psychological and sociological understand of sexual orientation that was foreign to the early Christian world" (114). Stott writes that, with this perspective, "it can be (and has been) argued that the Pauline condemnations are note relevant to homosexual adults who are both consenting and committed to one another" (28). Malloy concludes, after looking at the arguments provided on both sides of this issue, "Since we cannot know for sure what

level of precision Paul was striving for (especially in light of his adaptation of Greco-Roman material), we cannot give any definitive judgment which would rule out the passive partner/active partner meaning" (197). While Malloy seems to err on the side of the traditional interpretation, his point is well made that, since we have no way of knowing Paul's intentions or the words' connotations, we can make no definitive judgment based on these passages. This point seems to be one that most of the theologians I researched hold in common.

After looking at these verses, which are central to the debate over the morality of homosexuality, we see how inconclusive the debate has been so far. While the arguments of the revisionists seem to be strong, the conclusion still ends up being one of Biblical silence. By this I mean that though the Bible, as these people have argued, says nothing explicit about contemporary concepts of homosexuality being right, it also says nothing about them being wrong. Homosexuality as we know it today was unknown at the time these scriptures were written. Helminiak concludes, "the Bible takes no direct stand on the morality of homogenital acts as such nor on the morality of gay and lesbian relationships was we conceive of them today" (132). He goes on to say,

> If people would still seek to know outright if gay or lesbian sex in itself is good or evil, if homogenital acts *per se* are right or wrong, they will have to look somewhere else for an answer. For the fact of the matter is simple enough. The Bible never addresses that question. More than that, the Bible seems deliberately unconcerned about it. (133)

Unfortunately, the inconclusiveness of the Bible on the subject makes the debate that much harder. It would seem that this silence would weaken the arguments against

homosexuality, since these arguments are based on the conception that the Bible is conclusively against it. Unfortunately, changing centuries of misinterpretation is a difficult task indeed. Malloy explains, "In the contemporary discussion, defenders of homosexuality are going against the grain and should not expect a quick reversal of opinion" (208). Even he, while conceding much of the Bible's inconclusive stance on the subject, continues to promote a Christian disapproval of homosexuality.

From my research, I've gotten a sense that the movement towards the approval of homosexuality in the Christian church is growing; however, it still seems to have a long way to go. The debate has opened up even more questions that have to be addressed:

> How does one know right from wrong? Is the Bible infallible? To what extent does the Church reflect God's will, and to what extent does it reflect the traditions of society? Do good Christians always follow the Church's teachings, or are they allowed to think for themselves on moral issues? And to what sources does one finally look to determine what God wants? (Hartman *ix*)

These are very difficult questions that will take time, patience, and a willingness to change on the part of a lot of people before they can be truly answered.

So what do we do? Findings in biology, psychology, and sociology all suggest that a person's sexual disposition is outside of their control. James Nelson explains:

> While there is still much debate, at least two things seem clear. One is that our orientations are given, not freely chosen. The likelihood is that they arise from a combination of genetic and hormonal factors, together with environmental and learning factors—both nature and nurture. The other

> general agreement is that our sexual orientations are established rather early in life, most likely somewhere between the ages of two and five, and thereafter are largely resistant to any dramatic changes. (282)

However, appeals to science do not always work against those arguing from a Christian perspective. Melissa Wilcox addresses this difficulty when she writes, "Somehow, 'God made me this way' seems to hold more water than 'homosexuality is a concept coined by medical professionals in the nineteenth century in an attempt to bring human sexuality more fully under medical control. My own identity is the social descendent of that process" (57). To give an explanation based on science, psychology, or cultural anthropology may seem valid, but as many people's experiences show, the final appeal for many must be Biblical. Many of the experiences related in Keith Hartman's book *Congregations in Conflict: The Battle over Homosexuality* and in the essays collected in *Wrestling With the Angel*, edited by Brian Bouldrey, continue to drive this point home. It would seem that much of the difficulty that people have in coming out is derived from its status as a religious taboo. In his book, Hartman even explains how some churches, such as Pullen and Binkley Baptist churches, are expelled from denominational conventions because they take a too liberal stance on the issue (See Chapters 2 and 3).

Again I ask, "What can we do?" This debate shows no sign of ending anytime soon, so how do we combat the oppression and pain caused by some members and groups in the Christian church? Well, this is where my own personal story and philosophy come in. This has been a very difficult paper to write and research because it has forced me to confront issues about myself that I had put on the backburner out of fear. I am homosexual. (I refuse to use the noun form because I feel that calling someone *a*

homosexual puts too much emphasis on sexuality as a defining characteristic. It is a part of me, but it is just one facet of what makes up my identity). I've known in some way or another that I was gay for a long time, but having grown up a Jehovah's Witness and then a member of the Church of God, I attempted to deny and then ignore it with the hopes that it would go away or that I could change. A rumor was spread that I was gay when I was in eighth grade, based on nothing that I had done, and I saw how I was treated as the rumor circulated and feared how much worse I would be treated if my peers actually knew that I *was* in fact gay. I then ran even further away from the issue. As I grew older, I got so used to not thinking about it, that, for a time, I was able to separate myself from that part of me and attempted to ignore it while I worked through other issues with which I had to deal. However, that self-denial can only work for so long. Upon entering college, I began to address my sexuality again on my own. It was not until last semester that I decided I was ready to come out.

Fall semester of 2005 found me studying both the Civil Rights movement and Postmodernism at the same time. Both of these courses affected me immensely. The courage of the people involved in the Civil Rights movement, our class discussions on homosexuality with Reverends Harper and Ragona, and the study of identity and micropolitics in Postmodernism all converged and worked to inspire me to begin the process of coming out of the closet. These are ideas I kept returning to as I continued researching the struggles of the gay rights movement for this research paper. In my research, it seemed that so much of the problems were based in religion, and I knew that to be true from my experience. I'm not sure that the churches I grew up in would have accepted me if my sexuality had been discovered then.

In trying to address the question of what can be done while the Christian church is in such deep conflict, I kept turning to the concept of micropolitics we discussed in my Postmodernism class with Dr. Ashe. The theory of micropolitics operates from the point of view that "everything is in some sense political" (Ward 176). Power, rather than coming from one source on high, can be "exerted through the apparently mundane little networks of everyday life" (176). As Lyotard explains, we can "gnaw away at the great institutionalized narrative apparatuses . . . by increasing the number of skirmishes that take place on the sidelines. That's what women who have had abortions, prisoners, conscripts, prostitutes, students, and peasants have been doing" (qtd in Ward 176). I would add to that list people who come out of the closet. Hating a concept is much easier than hating a person. It can be very easy to condemn homosexual people as a whole without having to actually get to know one on a personal basis, but when someone that a person knows well comes out of the closet to them, a human face and personality has been placed on that concept. "Homosexuality" is no longer some abstract thing; it is now a characteristic of a friend sitting at the table.

At this point, I have no desire to become a political activist for gay rights in any large scale way, but on a small, micropolitical scale, I have already become one. I have begun coming out to my friends, many of whom I know do not agree with homosexuality because of their religious upbringing. I have also come out to my sister, who has been very supportive. The process is not easy, but so far my friends have been understanding and helpful. In fact, I have already seen in a few of my friends my theory working out. Some of their minds are changing; in my being honest with them, some of them are now confronting an issue they had never really given much thought outside of the abstract. I

have come to the conclusion that this is an effective way to combat prejudice, homophobia, and closed-mindedness. I think that what the theologians and activists working for gay rights have done and are doing is very important, but getting past this stalemate will take something more. A mind-change this big takes a lot of time and effort, and I feel that by being honest about ourselves, in a non-aggressive way, those of us who are homosexual can help guide our communities toward acceptance. By opening the doors for a dialogue, these difficult questions can be answered.

Works Cited

Bouldrey, Brian, ed. *Wrestling with the Angel: Faith and Religion in the Lives of Gay Men*. New York: Riverhead, 1995

Gomes, Peter J. *The Good Book: Reading the Bible with the Mind and Heart*. New York: William Morrow, 1996.

Hartman, Keith. *Congregations in Conflict: The Battle over Homosexuality*. New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1996.

Helminiak, Daniel A. *What the Bible Really Says about Homosexuality*. Tajique: Alamo Square Press, 2000.

Malloy, Edward A. *Homosexuality and the Christian Way of Life*. Washington, D.C.: UP of America, 1981.

Nelson, James B. "Sources for Body Theology: Homosexuality as a Test Case." *Moral Issues and Christian Responses*. Eds. Patricia Beattie Jung and Shannon Jung. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth, 2003.

New Revised Standard Version Holy Bible. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989.

Stott, John. *Same-Sex Partnerships?: A Christian Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1999.

Ward, Glenn. *Postmodernism*. Chicago: Contemporary Books, 2003.

Wilcox, Melissa. *Coming Out in Christianity*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003.

Wilson, Nancy. *Our Tribe: Queer Folks, God, Jesus, and the Bible*. San Francisco: Harper, 1995.

Jude 7 refers to the people of Sodom as "giving themselves over to fornication and going after strange flesh". The latter has been variously translated as women engaging in sexual intercourse with angels and as homosexuality. The exact meaning is lost.

We conclude that St. Paul in the Christian Scriptures seems to have condemned some homosexual activity, but it is unclear which ones. There is no mention of loving, committed gay and lesbian relations in the Christian Scriptures.

--The Ontario Centre for Religious Tolerance provides accurate information on small religions, and exposes groundless religious hatred. For more information on the OCRT you can write to them at:

OCRT
Box 27026
Frontenac PO
Kingston ON Canada K7M8W5.

Or surf their home page.

For an even more in-depth look at the scriptures that supposedly "condemn" homosexuality check out this great page and get ready for your Greek and Hebrew lessons!

Another scriptural resources is this page. It contains several papers on being gay and Christian. One by Rev. Dan Geslin, a United Church of Christ minister who is pastor of Liberation Church in Cleveland, Ohio is entitled "How Can Someone Be Both Christian and Homosexual?" Rev. Geslin tackles each of the scriptures used against gays and lesbians, and proclaims "God is calling gay and lesbian Christians to be a new chosen people."

Back To Table of Contents